WOMAN

(WIE BIST DU WEIB?)

A Treatise on the Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, and Sexual Life of Woman With an Appendix on Prostitution

by

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INTRODUCTION

I FEEL that no apology is needed for presenting this book to the English-reading public, for there is a lamentable lack of genuinely scientific treatises on Sex written in such a way as to be intelligible to the serious student, who may not necessarily have full command of scientific terms.

The result – and perhaps the cause too – is that our general outlook on sexual matters is terribly muddle-headed and wrong, and this gives rise to an appalling amount of quite unnecessary suffering. Only those whose personality and calling invite the intimate confidences of large numbers of persons of either sex can realise how frequent and how devastating such suffering is. Such a person must be sympathetic, tolerant, and unprejudiced, and should, perhaps, at some time have experienced such suffering in his or her own life, for without this it seems very difficult to appreciate the outlook of the sufferer. The doctor, the priest, and the educationalist (using the words in their broadest sense) are those whose calling affords most opportunity to hear these intimate confidences and to relieve the suffering; but unfortunately the majority of persons in these professions have not escaped the general ignorance and prejudice in respect of sexual matters, and are therefore not in a position to help those who come to them.

The prejudices are mainly derived from long-standing religious and social taboos, many of which had a real value in some earlier condition of society, but are now obsolete or obsolescent, and to the mistaken idea that 'morality' (especially sexual morality) is a fixed thing which has been, is, and must always remain, unchanged and unchangeable. As a matter of fact morality is, as the derivation of the word plainly shows, a matter of custom, and varies from age to age and from country to country.

Underlying every sexual custom and every sexual taboo there was originally some good practical reason – for instance, the whole sexual code of the Jews was based largely on the paramount desire for increase of population, and fornication, adultery, and homosexuality were consequently condemned. These practices were regarded quite differently by the Greeks, whose aim it was to restrict the population in accordance with their limited food supplies.

Conditions to-day are so different that we should cease to rely on Biblical, Greek, or other sanctions, for our judgment on any sex question – we should consider every point in relation to our life as it is to-day. Unfortunately there is scarcely a single sexual subject about

which we seem capable of thinking and acting rationally, and our prejudices give rise to incalculable harm both to individuals and to society in general.

Sexual ignorance and bigotry are responsible for the majority of unhappy marriages; we persecute the unfortunate sufferers from all sorts of sexual aberrations, instead of treating them as *ill* people needing care and attention (and sometimes restraint); and we intensify any evil effects arising from masturbation by terrifying stories of its direful consequences, which have insufficient foundation in fact.

It is not my intention to go into all these matters here, but I do suggest that traditional judgments on sex matters should not be accepted without full examination. They should be weighed objectively, dispassionately, unemotionally; and it will be found that hard-and-fast rules are seldom satisfactory, and that many time-honoured customs and judgments must be modified, or abandoned and replaced by others more suitable to modern social conditions.

Above all, nobody should consider himself capable of forming a sound judgment on any sexual question until he has taken the trouble to learn something about it, and for this purpose every enlightened man and woman should read some of the modern treatises on sex by competent authorities. The literature available to English readers is unfortunately limited. One must mention first the admirable *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* by Havelock Ellis, the foremost Sexologist of our age. In addition there are Bloch's *Sexual Life of our Time*; Moll's *Sexual Life of the Child*; Kisch's *Sexual Life of Woman*; Forel's *The Sexual Question*; Rutger's *The Sexual Life*.[1] No proper grasp of the subject can be obtained without some acquaintance with the teachings of psycho-analysis, but unfortunately much that is published under this heading is unreliable. Freud's own works and those of Dr. Ernest Jones are to be recommended to the reader.[2]

Many of the available books on various aspects of the Sexual Problem are too technical, or else written in a sentimental strain, or more or less inaccurate.

The present volume, which has enjoyed enormous popular success in Austria and Germany, gives a clear presentation of the sexual anatomy and physiology of woman, deals with her psychology and love-life, and shows how sex dominates all her activities from the cradle to the grave. The appendix on prostitution is particularly valuable for the English reader, as so little is available on this subject elsewhere.

[1] Translated by Norman Haire, Dresden, 1923.

[2] It will be noted that the author practically ignores the works of the psycho-analysts.

INTRODUCTION

The author's view is, in some respects, curiously one-sided. On the whole it bears a striking resemblance to that of Pope as expressed in his *Moral Essays*, Epistle 2, 'Of the Characters of Women,' and is diametrically opposed to the conception of the Victorian age, which invested woman with a halo. Dr. Bauer indulges in some deplorable outbursts against Roman Catholicism, which may wound the feelings of some readers of that faith. His charges against it are so extreme that they are evidently based on some individual complex, and not entirely on rational grounds. A few unimportant passages, which it was feared might offend English readers, have been omitted from the translation.

The book has many interesting references to curious customs of primitive peoples, which throw light on many of our own customs; and primitive sexual codes are compared with our own in a manner that is certain to provoke praise in many quarters and hostility in others.

While some of our author's views may provoke keen criticism, all he writes must give much food for thought to the unprejudiced reader. Altogether it is a book which no serious student of medicine, psychology, sociology, or education, can afford to miss, though the translation is intended primarily for the medical, legal, and educational professions.

NORMAN HAIRE.

LONDON,

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Most studies of woman have been open to the criticism that they lack impartiality and realism. This has been due to ignorance of the most elementary biological facts, misunderstanding of familiar phenomena in woman's life, prudery due to faulty education, and taboos imposed by Church, State, and Society.

The present work aims at a completely frank discussion in popular language of the life of woman from birth to death. No essential aspect of her life, whether physical, mental, sexual, or erotic, is omitted.

In pursuit of this object, it has been deemed necessary to draw on accounts of the women of all countries.

I have scrupulously avoided any suggestion of indecency even in dealing with the most delicate subjects, and have not attempted to provide anything in the nature of a 'Home Doctor.'

Considerable space has been devoted to the anatomy and physiology of woman because many years' professional experience has taught me that women are surprisingly ignorant of these matters, and indeed, in many cases, anxious to remain so. A knowledge of female anatomy and physiology is absolutely essential for the understanding of feminine psychology.

The Appendix on Prostitution is intended to afford a glimpse of the depths to which woman may sink. Though not strictly in place in a study of the normal woman, it serves to illuminate many aspects of woman's character. In the preparation of this section I received very valuable assistance from Dr. H. Weinberger, Chief of the *Sittenpolizei*, Vienna, to whom my thanks are due.

I also have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Herr Rudolf Schefczik, who assisted me in preparing the material for publication.

BERNHARD A. BAUER, M.D.

VIENNA, 1923.

BOOK I

THE FEMALE BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS

. . . 'When one writes about Woman, one must steep one's pen in the colours of the rainbow and scatter the dust from butterflies' wings on the page. . . . With every movement of one's hand a pearl must fall.'

DIDEROT, *Sur les femmes.*

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

ONLY an intimate acquaintance with the anatomy and physiology of the female body can provide us with a sound basis for the proper study and appreciation of the apparently complex nature of woman.

When we strip her of the tinsel of false sentiment and observe her with the sober eye of the scientist, a great number of characteristics come to light which cannot be *acquired* even in the course of a whole lifetime, but are provided by all-seeing Nature in the original rudiment, the primordial cell, the human ***ovum***. It is, therefore, with this ovum (*ab ovo* as we say in Latin) that we must begin our studies. Not with the origin of the ovum in the ovary of the fully developed female – that cannot be discussed until later – but with the ovum as we find it in the mysterious process of generation.

From earliest times different peoples have devised all sorts of explanations of the mystery of generation. Its processes were regarded with such awe that men scarcely dared even to think about an explanation of it; and the influence of supernatural powers – Gods, Evil Spirits, or other mysterious beings – was always invoked in order to explain it. Of theories of this sort innumerable examples are to be found in all ages. Susrata, an ancient Indian medical writer, to whom is ascribed the oldest Indian medical work, the *Ayur-Vedas* (or *Book of Knowledge*), dated about 1000 to 1400 B.C., naturally undertakes the task of providing an explanation of the act of generation, and gives an extremely interesting theory. According to him, the '*Vayu*,' by which is meant the 'Spirit' or 'Vital Force' present in the human body, is first united with the male semen during the act of coitus, and after entering the female organs is united with the 'monthly blood' of the woman. Not until this fusion has taken place, does the embryo, which, it is thought, is already in existence, reach the uterus with the help of the Sun-God and the Moon-Goddess. At the same time the 'Soul' of the ovum – which is now fertilised and endowed with spiritual powers – also arrives there. (We have followed Vullars in this account.)

We notice that the earliest investigator already refers to a fusion of male and female elements. The most important rôle, however, is assigned to the male, since it is from him that the 'soul' and 'vital energy' come. The so-called 'monthly blood' plays a subordinate part; it represents merely a medium provided by the female, embedded in which is the germ of a new organism. But the real generation, in the sense of the endowment of this rudiment with life and soul, is ascribed to the Gods.

We find similar views in the Talmud. We must remember that the ancient Talmudists combined the rôles of doctor and priest, and in both capacities exercised a powerful influence over a people who, for that time, had a profound insight into all spiritual matters. We should therefore expect that they would busy themselves with the problems of generation and would search for an explanation at once acceptable to themselves and intelligible to the people. It is not surprising that, in this explanation, an important part should be attributed to supernatural powers – in this case the 'One and Only God.' The Talmudists maintained that the embryo consisted of two entirely different elements, one from the male and one from the female. From the 'white seed' of the male were derived the bones, the sinews, the white horny covering of the eyes, and the white matter of the brain; whilst the other parts of the body such as the skin, the muscles, the coloured parts of the hair, and the finger-nails, were believed to be derived from the 'red seed' of the female. (Can this 'red seed' mean anything other than the menstrual blood?) God must act as a uniting agency between these two elements and breathe life and soul into the fusion. Exactly when and how this took place, the Talmudists could never decide, in spite of the most profound studies. When we remember the intensity of the faith of the ancient Jews we may be sure that this Talmudic theory was regarded as a dogma and that the people scarcely dared to think about, much less to doubt it.

The famous Greek physician Hippocrates of Cos, the 'father of medicine' (460–359 B.C.), deals with the problem of generation in his medical treatise *On the Nature of Man*. He has already arrived at the idea that there must be an element provided by the female, which serves as the rudiment of the body of the new organism. He is convinced that fertilisation has nothing to do with the 'monthly blood' of Susrata, since he has observed that in spite of regular menstruation females do not necessarily become pregnant, whereas on the other hand, when once conception has taken place, menstruation ceases. According to him fertilisation is due to the fusion of male and female seeds in the womb, but only very gradually and after a considerable interval does this cause the rudiment to develop into the embryo. The cessation of menstruation is explained by the theory that the blood, which has hitherto been discharged each month, now flows into the uterus, changes into flesh, and thus brings about the growth of the embryo. This view, in so far as it speaks of a fusion of male and female 'seeds,' seems very like our present-day view, but it is quite erroneous in attributing the development of the embryo to the menstrual blood, and in its explanation of the cessation of menstruation.

We shall have occasion to go into this question in more detail at a later stage.

Professor Wilhelm His is the author of a classic work on the various theories of generation which have been held by different peoples. He explains not only the theories themselves but the religious motives which constantly underlie them. These religious motives naturally correspond, among the so-called primitive peoples, to the level of their cultural development. Thus it is that we continually find supernatural powers involved, sometimes in the form of beneficent Sun-gods and sometimes of demons and evil spirits.

Accordingly, we find that the Greeks, who were intellectually and culturally extremely advanced, are far beyond such naïve conceptions. Their philosophers, the greatest thinkers and scientists of that time, suspected that there was some mystery in this, the most striking of all natural phenomena, but they were intelligent enough to attribute the motive force behind this 'miracle' not to the Gods but to another 'miracle' – that of woman herself. Aristotle opposed the views of Hippocrates which we have already quoted. He maintained that the male contributed the 'matter' (synonymous with male semen) solely for the purpose of providing 'impetus.' This we must interpret as signifying that it is only by means of the male secretion that the 'matter' contributed by the female (i.e. the egg-cell), until then in a state of rest, is stimulated to development. He does not regard the menstrual flow of the woman, as did Hippocrates, as the structural material in which growth takes place, but he has already appreciated the analogy between the menstrual flow and the losses of blood and mucus which had been observed in animals at the time of heat. Of the actual process whereby the ova are formed he has practically nothing to say. None the less, his theory is important in that he was certainly one of the first to regard the menstrual flow as merely a sign of sexual maturity, and to connect it with the processes of sexual maturity already observed in animals.

The Chinese made a great step forward. They mention the *ovaries* although they do not fully appreciate the part which these play in the great problem of generation. It is amazing what we find in ancient Chinese works on this subject, when we remember that the most indispensable servant of modern science – the microscope – had not yet been invented. They speak definitely of a union of two different elements spontaneously generated by the male and the female respectively. Either of these alone is quite useless, but the two when united form the basis of a new organism! This view, although it is many centuries old and must have rested entirely on guesswork, approximates to our modern view; but of course it involves some possibilities of

error. The male seed, termed '*tsin*,' penetrates into the 'child-reservoir' – '*tse-kong*' – and there meets with the germ-cells, which are described as consisting of very tiny vesicles. Contact between *one* of these vesicles and the '*tsin*' brings about fertilisation, and the development of the new organism begins. '*Tsin*' is therefore synonymous with the semen, although the Chinese did not as yet know the essential part of it – the *spermatozoa*. The term '*tse-kong*' may be taken to mean either the uterus or the ovary, but it would appear to be more likely the latter since 'vesicles' are mentioned. The word 'vesicles' must surely refer to the ova which are formed in the ovary and nowhere else. We shall point out later that this idea involves an error, for although vesicles are found in the ovary they are not identical with the ova. The essential advance in the Chinese theory is that no mention is made of menstrual blood; they already knew quite well that this had absolutely nothing to do with the process of generation or the formation of the embryo.

The true explanation of this difficult problem was not discovered until later.

It would take too long to enumerate all the other theories of generation held by ancient peoples. Suffice it to mention that the Roman physician Galen wrote a treatise *De semine* of which His writes as follows: 'Although it contains many sound observations, the perusal of this treatise leaves us with the painful impression which we always experience when an important scientific question is treated fancifully.' We find not the least attempt at a sound explanation of the problem. As for the savage peoples, they built their theories on the observation of animals, and often made comparisons between human beings which are ludicrous in their *naïveté*. They founded many hypotheses on myths, and passed them on from generation to generation without reflection; they are full of errors and explain nothing.

Little advance towards a solution of the problem of human origin was made during the Middle Ages. This is quite consistent with the general spirit of that period so completely dominated by the Church. All questions concerned with the mysterious were disapproved by the Church and regarded as heretical. The stake dominated thought, and many a scientist, who yearned to unveil some mystery, remained silent for fear of burning. The teachings of the Greeks and Romans had been taken over without question, and, as it was just in matters of this kind that the influence of God was given such prominence during the Middle Ages, these traditional explanations were accepted without further investigation. At any rate nobody dared to publish anything on the subject! That would have been heresy and have led to certain death. The history of Medicine during this period yields

practically nothing bearing on the problem of generation. The lack of the Microscope must, of course, be regarded as an important factor. The arts of sorcery and witchcraft and the dogmas of religion dominated the central facts of life and were esteemed more highly than serious scientific investigation.

The first great discovery must be credited to the seventeenth century. In the year 1677, almost 100 years after the invention of the microscope, the presence of spermatozoa in the male semen was discovered by Leeuwenhœk, or, more correctly, by one of his pupils named Ham. Almost simultaneously, his friend Graaf discovered, in and upon the ovaries of the female, certain vesicular structures which were at first thought to be the human ova. It was believed that in these two important discoveries the basis of a true solution of the problem of generation had at last been found. All the earlier theories about the male fluid and the provision of an unknown 'germinal substance' by the female, were rejected; it was now believed that the explanation of the problem lay in the union of these two recently discovered entities, the spermatozoa and the vesicles. Just as the solution appeared to have been found, one discovery followed another and one theory was overthrown by its opposite; there was for some time a controversy between thousands of different hypotheses based on new discoveries, some of them important and some of them unimportant. It was not until 1768 that Spallanzani demonstrated the motility of the spermatozoa – another important step forward. Still another century elapsed before it was known that penetration of these spontaneously moving spermatozoa into the ova was absolutely essential for fertilisation. The error made by Graaf, in taking the vesicular structures present in the ovaries for the ova themselves, will be dealt with later. Here we shall keep to the history of the elucidation of the problem and mention the epoch-making experiments of Oskar Hertwig in 1875. After researches lasting many years, he was actually able to see the process of fertilisation going on before his eyes, and today we may project it on to the cinematograph screen. At first, it is true, his experiments applied only to lower forms of life; he used the eggs of the sea-urchin, which he impregnated at will with the sperms of the same species. He demonstrated that the spermatozoon *penetrated* the ovum, and that it was through this fusion of one paternal and one maternal element that the new being came into existence. This naturally caused a great revolution in the theory of generation, and strenuous efforts were made to clear up all the points which still remained doubtful. One discovery followed another, and soon it was known exactly how even the most detailed processes occurred. The problem now appeared to have been finally solved. To-day we know

that a *single* spermatozoon is sufficient to fertilise the ovum; we know that the ova are quite distinct from the Graafian follicles (the vesicular structures first discovered by Graaf); we know how, out of the fusion of these two primitive cells, which are produced by the body continuously and involuntarily, new cells arise varying greatly in form and function; we know every stage of the development of the embryo from the moment of conception until birth – and yet there is one thing about which we know absolutely nothing! . . . What life is and whence it comes. What is the great and holy power which breathes *Life* into this fusion of primitive cells, which, by virtue of their origin from paternal and maternal elements respectively, will later develop, and preserve, throughout the whole of a long life, both internal and external characteristics derived from the father and the mother? . . .

At this point it is necessary that we should examine the anatomy and physiology of the female body in some detail. It will also be necessary to refer to the male genital organs, in so far as a knowledge of these is essential for the understanding of the process of fertilisation.

CHAPTER II

THE ORGANS OF GENERATION IN MAN AND WOMAN

The genital organs of a fully developed woman fall into two groups: the *external* and the *internal* genital organs. The former provide the 'laboratory,' so to speak, of the processes of generation, while the latter exist solely for the purpose of facilitating the act of copulation.

We shall deal first with the internal genital organs. They are the *uterus* (womb), the two *oviducts* (egg-ducts or Fallopian tubes), and the two *ovaries*. These organs are connected by various means – by connective tissue, ligaments, and folds of mucous membrane. Taking the uterus first, we find a pear-shaped body consisting of muscular tissue, the larger end of which – the thicker end of the pear, so to speak – is called the *fundus* and lies in the abdominal cavity; the tapering portion – the *cervix* – projects in the shape of a cone into the vagina. The cervix has at its centre a circular orifice called the *os uteri* (mouth of the womb). This pear-shaped body contains throughout its whole length, from os to fundus, a cavity (*lumen*) which in the virgin is very narrow. From each side of the fundus there branches off a thin tubular structure called the *oviduct* (Fallopian tube). The lumen of the oviduct is only 1 or at most 2 millimetres[1] in diameter, and is directly continuous with the lumen of the uterus. At the junction there is a slight protuberance, easy to find in a healthy woman, through which a small sound or probe may be passed. The other end of the oviduct opens out by widening in the shape of a trumpet. The roughened edges of this trumpet-like structure hang down like a fringe into the abdominal cavity. It must be carefully noted that there is thus a *direct*, freely traversible path from the vagina, through the uterus, through the oviduct to the fimbriated end, and so into the abdominal cavity. Below each of the two oviducts, and embedded in one of the folds of mucous membrane already mentioned, lies a somewhat nut-shaped structure with an uneven rugose surface – the *ovary*. It must also be emphasised that there is no structural continuity between the ovary and the oviduct, in the sense that there is no canal passing from the ovary through the oviduct to the uterine cavity. We shall appreciate the importance of this fact when we have examined the ovary itself. The description of the ovary from the anatomical standpoint is so intimately connected with its physiological functions that we must anticipate to some extent and men-

[1] i.e. $\frac{1}{25}$ or $\frac{2}{25}$ inch.

tion some facts which we shall meet again when we come to discuss menstruation. In the female who is not yet sexually mature, the rose-coloured surface of the ovary shows only a few small ridges which escape any but the careful observer; we find, on the other hand, in a woman of mature age (i.e. one who has already had her menstrual periods) that this organ is not only deeply furrowed, but that its surface is covered with numerous vesicular translucent structures about the size of a lentil, varying in colour from light yellow to dark brown, and beset with pits of varying sizes. In the interior of the ovaries the ova are produced and are to be seen (of course only with the aid of the microscope) at all stages of development, from the earliest to that of complete maturity, at which they are automatically discharged. As every woman, during her active sexual life, i.e., from the first onset of menstruation until the cessation of her sex functions in the fifth decade of her life, produces between 30,000 and 40,000 ova in her ovaries, and as each of these leaves a scar (cicatrix) on the ovary, the furrowed appearance of the surface of the ovary is not surprising.

The above-mentioned interpretation of Graaf, who was the first to find these vesicular structures on the surface of the ovary, was corrected as a result of researches specially devoted to this question. It was shown that these follicles were not the ova themselves, but contained human ova within them. We know now, thanks to the work of many investigators, that processes go on uninterruptedly within the ovary, which cause the ovum to be produced from primitive cells by a process of proliferation, and gradually bring it to maturity, until, swimming freely in the fluid contained in one of these follicles, it at last reaches the surface of the ovary. Then, at a certain moment, which, according to the modern view, does *not* coincide with the menstrual period, a Graafian follicle bursts, and the ovum is ejected with some force from its resting-place into the abdominal cavity. The bursting of a follicle is due to the continuous increase of its fluid content coupled with a continuous thinning of its external walls. When the discharge has taken place, the now empty follicle collapses automatically, becomes filled with a tiny clot of blood, and begins a process of retrogression or, as we call it, cicatrisation. The scar on the site of the follicle gradually becomes yellowish-brown in colour – the *corpus luteum* or yellow body – and remains visible on the surface of the ovary for some time. Gradually it loses colour and ultimately appears as a rough scar in the centre of a deep pit on the surface of the ovary. This process of the ripening and bursting of a Graafian follicle is termed *ovulation*. In quite recent years the discovery has been

made that the ovaries, in addition to producing ova, fulfil another function in their capacity as *ductless glands*, and supply various secretions which determine the feminine characters and are of vital importance for the normal development of the woman. Similarly with the corresponding sex-glands of the male – the *testicles*. They produce spermatozoa and at the same time, by their activity as glands of internal secretion, determine the chief male characters. In cases of castration, the removal of testicles or ovaries from men or women respectively destroys the subtle sexual characteristics of the patient only because he or she is thereby deprived of the glands which secrete into the blood substances which are sexually so important. This matter will be dealt with later.

It was formerly believed that ovulation took place only at the time of a fruitful act of coitus, but it was shown as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century that this was not so, and that ovulation is, as we have pointed out, a *normal automatic* function of the ovary. This, of course, only when the ovary is fully developed and perfectly healthy. *Ovulation then, like menstruation, is a normal automatic phenomenon in the life of a mature healthy woman.*

Now let us follow the ovum which has been discharged from the Graafian follicle and has entered the abdominal cavity. It is clear that it must, in some way or other, fulfil its destiny and find a way into the oviduct and thence into the uterus. The ovum has therefore to set out on a journey, and it is astonishing with what precision this journey is accomplished. It was formerly believed (and indeed there are still some who hold the view) that the trumpet-shaped structure, which forms part of the oviduct, applies itself automatically at the appropriate spot on the ovary, at the moment of the bursting of the follicle, so that, in this way, the ovum can pass directly into the dilated end of the oviduct and thence along it. Even though this may have been actually observed in some cases, we still maintain that the ovum unquestionably reaches the oviduct of its own accord without any direct assistance from the latter in the way of contact, change of position, suction, or the like. We actually know that the fimbriæ fringing the end of the tube are in a state of continuous undulatory movement, and that, in addition, the interior of the oviduct is provided with tiny ciliated cells which by means of a wave-like motion cause a flow of the fluid in the abdominal cavity (*peritoneal fluid*) in a constant direction, through the lumen of the oviduct towards the cavity of the uterus. Thus there is a continuous current of fluid from the abdomen towards the interior of the womb, produced and regulated by the mechanical energy of the ciliated cells of the oviduct. And this mechanical movement is an

'inherent' spontaneous quality, like, for example, the peristaltic action of the bowels. Everything that comes into this current is carried along like a twig floating on the surface of a stream. Thanks to the researches of various workers, among whom may be mentioned Thiry, Pinner, and Becker, this automatic function has been demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt. For they introduced finely powdered substances, such as indigo, into the abdominal cavity of a test-animal and were able to follow, under a microscope, the movement of the tiny coloured particles through the oviduct into the uterus. The movement was apparently spontaneous but really due to the motion of the fluid. The experiments went even further and demonstrated what might appear almost incredible, namely, that this movement could take place from one side to the other, e.g. out of the right ovary and through the left oviduct to the uterus, or *vice versa*. We see then that ovulation is nothing but the spontaneous extrusion from the ovary of a mature ovum, and is concluded by the entrance of the ovum through the oviduct into the uterus. *It has nothing to do with menstruation*. There are cases in the literature of the subject in which the occurrence of ovulation in children of seven or eight years appears to have been proved indisputably by the presence of *corpora lutea* – the cicatrices corresponding to the sites of Graafian follicles which have burst. Where there is a corpus luteum there must have been a burst Graafian follicle; and this is identical with the discharge of a ripened ovum, i.e. ovulation.

Before passing to the external organs of the female, we must say a few words about the walls of the uterus. They consist of a layer of muscle about 1½ to 2 centimetres [1] thick, the greatest thickness being at the free end of the pear-shaped body which projects into the abdominal cavity (*the fundus*). In the resting stage the walls are so closely approximated that the space between them, the uterine cavity, is only a few millimetres in diameter. The importance of the strength of this muscular wall in later life will be apparent when we mention that the uterus is the actual 'incubator' in which the tiny fertilised ovum – about as big as a pin-head – nests, and develops to the size of a new-born child. What a capacity for distension does Nature provide here! The tapering part of the uterus (*cervix uteri*) which projects conically into the vagina, forms the connecting link between the internal and the external genital organs.

The *vagina* is in the form of a tube surrounding this conical projection. Its rugose (roughened, or wrinkled) walls lie close together in the resting stage, and are covered with a mucous membrane which, because it contains numerous glands of different kinds, continuously

[1] i.e. ⅗ or ⅘ inch.

furnishes a certain amount of fluid – the *vaginal secretion.* The passage opens externally at the *vaginal entrance,* which is bounded on each side by the delicate longitudinal folds called the *labia minora.* At the anterior, or, more strictly speaking, upper, extremity of the labia minora, and corresponding to the point where they join, we find a body about the size of a pea or bean – the *clitoris* (or 'button') – which corresponds developmentally to the *glans penis* of the male, and, like it, has the power of altering its size and shape. This latter quality is due to its possessing numerous small extremely sensitive nerves which are specialised for sexual stimuli. But this will be discussed later. In the immediate neighbourhood of the clitoris the urinary passage – the *urethra* – has its external orifice in a small opening in the vestibule. It should be clearly understood that the mouth of the urethra is quite distinct from the mouth of the vagina, although both are included within the cleft – the *vulva* – whose external boundaries are the *labia majora.* These latter are two thick padded folds of skin, which in the adult woman are covered with hair. They lie close together and thus shut in and protect the entrance to the vagina and the mucous membranes of the external genital organs. The vagina is from 10 to 12 centimetres[1] long, and in the virgin is partly closed near its external opening by the *hymen* (maidenhead). It is thought by many laymen, and even by many well educated women, that this membrane is stretched over the entrance to the vagina like that of a drum and must be forcibly penetrated at the first intercourse. This is not so. The hymen does not close the vaginal entrance completely; if it did, how could the blood flow away at the menstrual periods? There is nothing more than a ring-shaped fold of mucous membrane which certainly *narrows,* but does not *close,* the vaginal entrance. It is, of course, only to be expected that this membrane should be torn in all directions by the first entrance of the male organ. In fact the whole form and appearance of the genital organs must, in the course of time, change very considerably on account of small scars due to coitus on the one hand and to parturition on the other.

Following this description of the female genital organs, it seems appropriate to proceed to describe the male organs, particularly as we are now in a position to understand the mechanism of copulation. In the male, as in the female, we distinguish between the internal and external genital organs, but while in woman the greater and more important part of the genital system is found inside the body, in the male the internal organs consist only of two glandular structures – the *prostate* and *seminal vesicles* – which secrete a fluid which acts as a vehicle for the *spermatozoa.* The *testicles* appear as two flattened egg-

[1] i.e. 4 to 5 inches.

shaped bodies suspended in a common pouch of external skin – the *scrotum* – which hangs below the *penis*. The testicles, like the ovaries, are glands which produce germ-cells (in this case *spermatozoa*) in almost inconceivable numbers. The form and function of these spermatozoa will be discussed later. The penis is a cylindrical body, measuring in its flaccid condition about 3 centimetres[1] in diameter and about 6 to 7[2] centimetres in length. It has at its free end a head shaped like a truncated cone – the *glans* – which is not visible, as it is covered by a prolongation and reduplication of the external skin – called the *prepuce* or *foreskin*. In the condition called *erection*, when, as a result of nervous stimuli, the penis grows larger and becomes stiff, the foreskin recedes and the glans become uncovered. This phenomenon of erection is due to a capacity provided for in the anatomical structure of the penis. On both sides of the urethral canal, which runs through the penis longitudinally, there is a spongy structure provided with cavities of varying sizes richly supplied with blood; this is the *cavernous body* or *erectile tissue*. A nervous stimulus causes the erectile tissue to fill with blood and so swell, while at the same time the escape of the blood is partly or completely prevented. Thus it is that erection comes about. The phenomenon is analogous to that which takes place when a dry sponge is submerged in water. The sponge becomes larger as a result of the filling of the pores with water, and it will remain at this increased size as long as we prevent the water escaping. As a result of erection the penis becomes longer, thicker, and quite hard, so that it is able to penetrate the female vagina – its first duty in the act of procreation. The glans reaches the os uteri, i.e. the aperture in the cervical portion of the uterus which projects into the vagina. The mucous membrane lining the vagina, which is always somewhat moist, embraces the penis tightly; then, as a result of rubbing movements which accompany the sexual act, there finally arrives a moment – *the orgasm* – when the extreme stimulation of the sexual nervous centres causes the spermatozoa, mixed with fluid from the prostate and seminal vesicles, to spurt suddenly from the male urethra into the vagina. This moment is technically known as *ejaculation*, and is regarded by many of the laity as the moment of impregnation, but this is not so. It is merely the moment when the seminal fluid enters the vagina, and fertilisation does not take place until later, as we shall see. Incidentally we should mention that, just as ejaculation marks the moment of most intense sensation for the male, there is a corresponding phenomenon in the female. A small drop of mucus, normally present in the *os uteri*, is suddenly spurted out and (according to some authorities) the *os uteri* itself executes a

[1] 1¼ inches. [2] 2¼ to 3 inches.

snapping or sucking movement. Thus, it is asserted, is the way made clear for the entrance of the spermatozoa into the uterus, where fertilisation may now take place. We shall show more fully in a later chapter that this view is not strictly correct; for the moment we merely point out that there are many cases of pregnancy recorded where, as in the case of rape, there has been no female orgasm, and so (presumably) no ejaculation of the drop of mucus from the os uteri. It seems that there must be another factor in fertilisation, and this we shall now proceed to demonstrate.

If we examine a drop of semen under a microscope, we see in it a great number of small bodies consisting of two parts – a thickened, knob-like, somewhat elliptical head which tapers through a second tail-like portion to a fine thread. Each of these bodies is a spermatozoon or sperm-cell, consisting of a head and a *flagellum* or tail. Ham was the first to observe the movement of these sperms under the microscope, a movement which is due to the flagellum lashing to and fro, like the tail of a fish, and thus enabling the sperm to swim freely in the protecting fluid. We call this spontaneous movement the *motility* of the spermatozoa, and it is this which really brings about fertilisation. The sperms do not reach the ovum merely as a result of ejaculation; they themselves seek the way to the waiting ovum and do not rest until they have reached the goal. This is of course only so long as no obstacle, chemical or mechanical, is placed in their path.

Although this fact has been proved scientifically beyond all doubt, I prefer, in accordance with the general scheme of this book, to prove it by reference to a common experience of everyday life. Very frequently, a couple, fearing that a complete act of coitus may result in fertilisation, satisfy their passions by friction of the penis on the outer part of the vulva until ejaculation has been brought about. Although care is taken that only the outer parts – the vulva – are moistened by the male fluid, conception sometimes follows. Cases of this sort are quite familiar to the gynæcologist, and also cases in which girls have become pregnant even though they are still anatomically virgins, i.e. preserve the hymen intact. The penis may not have entered the vagina, the semen not been ejaculated into the vagina or anywhere near the *os uteri* – yet impregnation has resulted. In both cases the careful lovers have reckoned without the motility of the sperms. These have found their own way into the vagina, through the *os uteri*, and so into the uterus where they have met the ovum.

Now we have another of Nature's miracles! A *single* sperm, that which reaches the outer covering of the ovum first, penetrates it; at the same instant, those coming after, even the thousandth part of a second after, perish inexorably. Their motility ceases, and they die. The

'victor' which has penetrated the ovum, takes possession, male and female cells fuse, and a new organism is formed in which maternal and paternal elements are combined. By a highly complex process of cell-multiplication and cell-division, thousands and thousands of new cells are produced which gradually develop diverse forms corresponding to their respective functions. Thus is the embryo built. I omit a detailed account of this phase of development and refer the reader to books devoted specially to the subject. Is it not obvious that, as a consequence of the processes just described, children *must* resemble their parents? Is it not equally obvious that along with these physical tendencies should go mental characteristics, whether of weakness or strength, which are thus transmitted from parents to offspring? Can there be any controversy about the theory of heredity?

The rudiments of the sex-organs are to be seen in the embryo as early as a few weeks after fertilisation, but it is not possible until the tenth week to decide definitely to which sex it belongs. Up to a certain stage of development the rudiment is *bi-sexual*, so that the new organism may equally well be a male or a female. By saying that this rudiment is bi-sexual, we mean that the rudiments of ovaries oviducts and uterus, or testicles and seminal vesicles, on the one hand, and of penis glans and scrotum, or vagina clitoris and labia, on the other hand, may be seen in the embryo simultaneously. This rudiment develops gradually in the direction of either a male or a female by means of a metamorphosis, in which the organs of the other sex simultaneously atrophy. It can be shown indubitably in the different stages of development of the embryo, that the analogous parts of the *fully developed* sex-organs are of *identical* origin. The testicles correspond to the ovaries, the sperm-ducts to the oviducts, the male glans to the female clitoris, the erectile bodies of the penis to those of the female vulval cleft. It has also been discovered that the male testicles develop originally within the abdominal cavity of the embryo, in the same way as do the ovaries, and it is not until the beginning of the sixth month that they migrate through the abdominal walls, taking certain parts of the latter with them, and descend into the scrotum which is already formed but has hitherto been empty. A small aperture in the abdominal wall – *the inguinal canal* – affords a path for this migration of the testicles, and it closes automatically after they have passed through it. There are some infants in whom this descent of the testicles has either not taken place at all or has remained incomplete, so that the testicles have remained either in the abdomen or in the inguinal canal.

It has already been mentioned that the ovaries, even in early childhood, produce Graafian follicles and ova. Only very rarely do the

follicles burst and cause actual ovulation. If they do, we have a case of precocious development, and such cases have aroused the curiosity of medical men from the earliest times. Even the outward sign of full development – the menstrual flow – has been observed quite frequently in young children. Various explanations of this phenomenon have been suggested, such as hereditary influence (which is possible) and the behaviour of the mother during pregnancy (which is absurd). We cannot yet say that the problem has been solved. Cases have been reported in all ages, but especially during the last 200 years, and Ploss, in his *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*, reports no less than forty-five. He calles them cases of 'abnormal precocity' and gives his conclusions as follows: 'The cases collected here, besides which there are many others in the literature of the subject, are reported under the title of "premature menstruation," and they would accordingly appear to be cases of precocious sexual maturity in females. The brevity of most of the accounts which I have read, does not permit of complete criticism; but at the first glance it is clear that a certain number of them are wrongly included in the diagnosis of "precocious occurrence of the menstrual flow." ' Since these cases are extremely interesting we shall give some of the most striking of them, but we maintain that it is not necessary to assume that there must have been some accident or pathological condition to account for this precocious external sign of puberty. After all it is quite common to find individuals who have, already in the germ-cell, a predisposition to excessive or defective activity of one function or another, and this may be true of either physical or mental characteristics. 'Prodigies' of all sorts have always existed and always will exist. Are not these physical prodigies, if I may call them so, to be compared to mental prodigies of one sort or another? Why should not Nature occasionally produce a 'sport' in whom the Graafian follicles, which are almost always present in the ovaries of the child, do not retrogress, but instead ripen, burst, cause ovulation and finally menstruation? The human being is not a machine and does not function with the regularity of clockwork. The human body is always a miracle and occasionally manifests an additional miracle.

I shall now quote a few from the forty-five cases cited by Ploss in which all trace of a pathological cause or any pathological factor is completely lacking. These are cases of real 'sexual precocity' in Ploss's sense.

(1) Anna Muhmenthaler of Trachselwald in the Canton Bern (born 1751, died 1826), had regular monthly periods at the age of two years. At birth, her sexual organs were already completely covered with pubic hair and the breasts were fully developed. In her

ninth year she became pregnant for the first time and she menstruated normally until her fifty-second year.

(2) X had her first menstrual period at the age of nine months; the pubic hair appeared in the second year; at the age of eighteen months she had fully developed breasts.

(3) Sally Deweese, born in Kentucky in 1824, had her first period at the age of one year and menstruated regularly from that time on. She gave birth to a child at the age of ten years.

(4) Y had her first period at the age of ten months; pubic hair and breasts were fully developed in the second year.

(5) Z, born in February 1880, in North America. Dr. A. van Derweer saw her in September 1882, i.e. when she was two years and seven months old. She had had her first period at the age of four months; menstruation recurred regularly every twenty-eight days and lasted for five days. The child was unusually well developed; she weighed 59 lbs. and looked like a girl of ten or twelve years.

I refrain from giving any more of these very interesting cases, because it is not the purpose of this book to deal with abnormalities, and as such we must certainly regard these prodigies. As a matter of fact, scientists to-day know of hundreds of them. We were however obliged to mention them because it *is* part of our task to study all the manifestations of the processes of the female body. In calling these cases prodigies and classing them with other 'wonder children' with other unusual qualities, I am following the view of my former teacher Schauta, who, in his *Handbook of Gynæcology*, describes such cases as 'abnormalities' or 'abnormal and precocious sexual maturity' and warns us against assuming, because of them, that ovulation takes place in *normal* children.

The question now naturally arises, whether we know of similar cases of precocity in male children. But we realise that this question has no meaning when we reflect that the male has no external sign of puberty, unless we consider as such a transitory increase in size of the penis in many six- or seven-year-old boys, comparable to an erection. Can it really be that Nature has, in a certain sense, favoured the female child developmentally? In the course of our later investigations we shall have the opportunity of noting not one but several reasons for answering this question in the affirmative. Nature herself sees to it that everything in woman which is necessary to the continuation of the race is as completely as possible at her disposal.

In opposition to this effort of Nature we have an effort of human beings dating from the earliest times. Whether it is due to a false pride or whether it is due to a tradition which has been handed down without foundation from generation to generation, the fact

remains that male progeny have always been preferred to female progeny. Thus it comes about that human beings have always been concerned, and are indeed still concerned, with attempts to solve the problem of the *determination* of sex, and that theories have always existed which, even though based on nonsense, claim to have found a solution of the problem. It has sometimes been believed that it is the manner of fertilisation, sometimes the time at which it took place, sometimes the conduct of the woman during pregnancy, which determines the sex of the child. There is indeed almost no function of human life which has not been held responsible. at one time or another. It is well known that in recent years a German scientist claimed to have at last found a solution to the problem. But it was a myth! His theories, which rested on analogy with the artificial breeding of plants, fell to dust like the pollen of the plants with which they dealt!

The view which was held authoritatively for the longest time, was first put forward by Dr. Schumann in his *Ratio of the Sexes at Birth* (Oldenburg 1883). This view depends on the idea that the sex of the child was directly dependent on the age and sexual potency of the parents; youth and potency in the father had a positive value in favour of boys, and age and weakness of the father (by which chiefly was meant the consequences of sexual excess before marriage) favoured female offspring. The physical constitution and age of the mother were regarded as of scarcely any account, a point which to me is illuminating, for indeed the woman does play the minor rôle in the act of generation, but is responsible for the care of the germ-cell which she has produced and the male has fertilised, and for its subsequent development in the uterus. It should not, however, be asserted that the part played by woman in the act of generation is negligible. We maintain firmly that the determination of sex is quite beyond our control and that at the moment of fertilisation the sex of the offspring is already determined. Just as we are completely unable to change the characters of any one of the millions of cells in our body in this or that direction, so it is equally impossible to influence the nature of the germ cells, i.e. the ova and spermatozoa. It is therefore impossible to influence the sex of the child, e.g. by a certain diet during pregnancy, and still less so by external factors, e.g. by the season or the time at which the act of generation takes place. Here we come again to the great mystery. What is life? Whence comes it? What gives rise to sex in human beings? What determines it?

It is only natural that among all peoples at all periods, the laity should have interested themselves in this question no less than did the scientists and priests. This is particularly so in the so-called lower

races, amongst whom the rearing of the family is a more serious problem than we realise. By such peoples, as we shall have to point out later, the woman is never regarded as the companion of her husband, but is, so to speak, a privileged servant who, in addition to the heavy work of everyday life, has also imposed upon her the task of the reproduction and rearing of the race. And so we find really Draconian laws which not only impose heavy burdens and penalties on the barren woman but also allow the husband to get rid of such a woman without any ceremony.

It is not only the theoretical question of the determination of sex but also the practical problem of a deliberate choice of sex which has given rise to the most varied and interesting theories. Thus e.g. we find in the ancient Indian medical work of Susrata – the *Ayur-Vedas*, – quite precise instructions for the great art of begetting boys or girls at will: 'If a boy is wanted the woman must abstain from her husband for three days after the menstrual period; she must have a special diet and lie on a special bed prepared with special herbs. On the fourth day she should wash, don new raiment, and show herself to the man with ceremonies which are prescribed in detail. For it is believed that the character of the son she bears will be in accordance with the character of the man whom she first sees after her cleansing. Then the husband, who has been dedicated to Brahma for one month, should have intercourse with her in the afternoon. The man must first rub himself with purified butter and eat rice which has been cooked in purified butter and milk; the woman must anoint herself with sesame oil, and eat sesame and also a certain sort of bean. In the same manner, on each occasion after a prayer, the man should have intercourse with her on the 4th, 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th nights. These days are favourable to the procreation of males. If a daughter is desired, he should have intercourse with her on the 5th, 7th, 9th, and 11th nights. At the end of the three days following menstruation the Indian doctor gave the woman who desired a boy three or four drops of a fluid, made of specified herbs, in the right nostril, and she had to take care not to blow these out.'

It is interesting to analyse this recipe of Susrata critically. The elements do not appear to be chosen indiscriminately, since every factor which is mentioned is calculated to appeal to their primitive methods of thought and to their naïve and superstitious religious views. God, Nature, the priest, and the doctor, each played a part. For thirty days the man was dedicated to Brahma and the woman had to carry out rites which were prescribed by the priests; the coitus had to take place on certain nights, nay, at certain hours; and then at the end comes the medical skill of the priest with his drugs – naturally

secret ones. Although we are inclined to dismiss all this with a smile, we should like to point out quite definitely that the medical part is the usual humbug. The doctors desired to raise their status in the eyes of the people, and if there was a failure it could be attributed to the couple having omitted something or not carried out the religious ceremonies precisely, or in having chosen the day, or hour, or even minute, badly. And so the next occasion would be awaited, to see whether the instructions would not be followed more carefully and chance would not bring about the fulfilment of the parents' wish.

We next come to the prescriptions of the Talmudic doctors, which are certainly more sensible. They maintained that man was able deliberately to determine the sex of the child, but they are more cautious, since they regard the event as dependent wholly and solely on the behaviour of the man and woman *during coitus*, without going to the length of prescribing definite formulæ. The passion of the man, according to them, was favourable to male, that of the woman to female offspring.

The Greeks and Romans, or rather their most eminent doctors, such as Hippocrates, Galen, Parmenides, Anaxagoras, and many others, regarded the voluntary choice of sex as impossible, but almost all committed themselves to the view that the side of the body from which the sperm and ovum came, determined the sex of the child. They believed that the two halves of the body had different temperatures, that the right side was the warmer and produced males; the cooler left side, on the other hand, yielded exclusively female offspring. This was certainly a naïve theory and an easy way out of the difficulty; but it is not difficult to demolish it. We have only to reflect that often one-half of those parts of the genital organs which are arranged in pairs, e.g. either the right or left sex gland (ovary or testicle) becomes affected in some way, ceases to function, and has to be removed surgically. Again and again we find that, in spite of this, offspring of both sexes are born indiscriminately. It is remarkable that these views about the two halves of the human body should have persisted into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this connection Ploss quotes many examples in his book. Thus, a German writer, Eucharius Rösslin, writes in his *Manual of Midwifery*: 'When the semen is hot and plentiful, it has the power of producing males. Further, if the semen comes from the right testicle and is taken in to the right side of the woman the same result will be produced, because the right side of the body is hotter than the left and the semen from the right side is hotter and stronger than that from the left. For this reason, the woman should turn on the right side immediately after the sexual act if she desires a boy.' Similarly Rueff writes in his book,

Ein Schönlustig Trostbuchlein: 'Boys are conceived more often on the right side of the womb and from the semen that comes from the right testicle, for the right side, on account of the liver, is warmer than the left side. But the principal thing is that the greater warmth of the semen is the chief reason for the sex being male.'

The only reasonable view, which, although it has been rejected in recent years, corresponds more or less to our present-day attitude, is to be found recorded amongst the Chinese. They omit all mention of ways and means, religious ceremonies, time, and other such purely superstitious factors, and ascribe the procreation of males or females respectively to the factors of virility and strength of the man as compared with the qualities of the woman. According to this view, there are two elements, or as we should call them two forms of energy, the strong principle '*Yang*,' and the weak principle '*Yu*.' If '*Yang*' predominates in the man the child is a male; otherwise a female. This view, though somewhat naïvely stated, resembles closely that of Schumann which we quoted earlier, for Schumann held that youth and virility and the general physical constitution of the father determined the sex of the child.

Of course popular superstition has always influenced the general attitude towards this question more than the theories of priests and scientists. It is natural that in these popular theories it is primarily the act of coitus itself which plays the important part. Thus e.g. we still find, in some parts of the Tyrol, that there is a traditional belief that if the father desires a son, he must, during coitus, keep his boots on! Boots are evidently the outward and visible sign of manhood! Among many Slav people the man keeps on his hat, which is adorned with wedding ribbons. In some parts of Poland, they go further, and the man keeps all his clothes on. Could we have a clearer proof of the *naïveté* of some races? Although they belong to the twentieth century, are they not comparable to those directions followed by the so-called primitive peoples? E.g., just as in Susrata's directions, so even in our own time, the weather is held responsible by some peoples for the sex of the newly procreated child. If it rains during the important event the child will be a girl; but if it is fine weather the child will naturally be a boy! Nay more! In some places there is a sort of technique of procreation; if the father desires a boy he anoints his penis before coitus with hare's blood; if a girl is desired, with goose fat. Can the *Ayur-Vedas* have persisted, without our knowledge, until our own time?

Naturally, there are and always have been thousands of formulæ for the period of pregnancy. These will be mentioned later, in the chapter on the pregnant woman. Here let us note incidentally that

Weininger, who is frequently (sometimes incorrectly) quoted, speaks in his *Sex and Character* of the popular belief of the effect of 'maternal impressions' (*Versehen*) of the mother during pregnancy. We have all heard over and over again, that if a pregnant woman looks at certain things it will have some effect, harmful or beneficial, on the child. We find even among the highest and most cultured as well as among the lower classes – lower, that is, in general intelligence – beliefs still persisting which make the sober scientist smile although they give him cause for reflection. I knew a pregnant woman who sat for hours in front of a beautiful picture of the Madonna and looked at it continuously with a rapt spiritual expression. She was convinced that by this means the child would be as beautiful as that portrayed in the picture, and when I tried to dissuade her from this view she became seriously angry and only after much trouble did I succeed in calming her. I waited anxiously for the birth in order to prove how mistaken she was and, as it happened, the child was a monstrosity, hydrocephalic and with other abnormalities, and happily it lived only for one hour. She was cured of her superstition. During her second pregnancy not a glance was given to the beautiful Madonna, and the child was one of the most beautiful I have ever seen! *Maternal impressions have no such influence!* Otherwise, would there be any ugly, badly developed children born with hare-lip or red hair or malformed ears? *The germ-cells of the father and mother provide the original material, and then, uninfluenced by any external factor, build up the embryo and at last produce the child, which has characters which are derived solely from the mother and father.* Here we have the truth, free from all superstitious nonsense, in spite of all the stories which are whispered into the ears of the pregnant woman by her mother, grandmother, aunts and friends, of things which are 'absolute facts' and 'which they have seen with their own eyes.' This is the truth, even though a man like Weininger believed in maternal impressions and reproached us doctors because we have not busied ourselves with this question, which he regarded as so very important. Woman herself must take the lead in the war against this superstition and, when reason finally conquers, many a woman will be spared, from the beginning of pregnancy till the end, long hours of anxiety about the appearance and quality of the coming child. But in this fight superstition must be conquered; and superstition has no truer and more devoted slave than woman herself!

CHAPTER III

THE GIRL IN INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD (FIRST TO THIRD YEARS)

THERE has always been a tendency to trace back to the earliest period of childhood the differences between the two sexes, both physical and mental, which appear later in life apparently spontaneously. Attempts have been made to discover whether even at the time of birth there are not already certain characters which are to the advantage of one sex or the other. There have always been scientists claiming that they have discovered some mark or other of mental or physical inferiority in the female sex at birth. These claims were supported by the work of men of eminence like Schopenhauer in his treatise *On Woman* and by Mœbius in his book *The Congenital Mental Inferiority of Woman.*

It is obvious that one must regard attempts of this sort very critically in order to arrive at an unprejudiced judgment, not only on the question of the inferiority of the female sex, but also of the scientific attitude of these writers themselves. Even though we find that some of these views can be substantiated, still the tendency, the whole basis, of such utterances, seems to lie in an *a priori* assumption of woman's inferiority. In the second part of this book, which deals with the mental life of woman, we shall refer to Schopenhauer at greater length. Here we desire, as far as is possible, to mention certain of the physical differences between the new-born male and the new-born female child, without falling into the error of assuming in advance that any *minus* is necessarily the sign of female inferiority. *There is no inborn inferiority of the female sex, at least not in any physical respect.* It would have been anything but wise on the part of Nature to endow that sex, to which is entrusted the task of bearing and rearing the race, with less physiological capacity than the other. I would rather maintain the opposite and speak of men enjoying an undeserved advantage, which appears to be based on the fact that the man has, as a rule, to fight the hard battle of daily life, and through his constitution acquires in the cradle the basis of a potentially greater development both physical and mental. *Whether, and how, this capacity actually develops, depends not on the individual himself, but wholly and solely on the conditions of life in which he is quite involuntarily placed.*

Unprejudiced examination of the life and habits of the peasantry of our own country[1] confirms this view. There we see that the so-called weaker sex works just as hard as, or even harder than, do the men. For when the man finishes his work in the fields he goes to the

[1] Translators' Note – i.e. Austria.

inn or sits at the fire, but the woman, after finishing her work there, has to come home and carry out a number of household tasks which frequently involve great physical exertion. The so-called 'weaker sex,' therefore, works harder than the male, and this even when they are suffering the additional strain of pregnancy which Nature has imposed upon them. For, in the country and among the poorer classes in the cities, the pregnant woman is given no respite even up to the last moment. Yet woman is described as 'weak' and inferior! It is true that the life of the woman of the better classes is very different. It is a continuous round of luxury and comfort, and she is spared all physical exertion, especially during pregnancy. It is natural that, under these circumstances, she does not develop powerful muscles or much capacity for resistance. She remains a weakling and has thus given rise to the idea of the 'weaker sex.' However, there remain certain definite physical differences between males and females, which have been compiled statistically as the result of many years' work, and we shall now proceed to enumerate these.

The weight of a newly born female infant is on the average less than that of the male. Whereas the latter has an average weight of between 3,300 and 3,500 grammes,[1] the weight of the former is between 3,000 and 3,200 grammes.[2] These numbers apply, of course, only to the general rule. We frequently find female children who are heavier than male children, a phenomenon usually attributable to the influence of heredity. Vigorous, healthy, youthful parents tend to have vigorous well-developed children; the quality of the germ-cells is the decisive factor for the constitution of the offspring. But the average difference of weight between male and female infants is easily explained when we reflect that the length and general size of the female child are, as a rule, less than those of the male child. Whereas the latter are about 50 to 52 cm.[3] long, the former measure about 48 to 49 cm.[4] This difference in length accounts for the difference in weight. But it must also be noted that the female is smaller and lighter than the male during the whole of the first year of life. Whereas a boy at the end of the first year has a weight of 15,000 grammes and an average length of 70 cm,[5] the girl weighs on an average 10,000 grammes and is 68 cm.[6] long. Of course a great number of imponderable external factors play a part in these calculations. The method of feeding and general care of the child may be the same for boys as for girls, but again and again we notice an instinctive tendency to spoil girls,

[1] 7¼ lbs. and 7¾ lbs.
[2] 6½ lbs. and 7 lbs.
[3] = 20 to 20·4 inches.
[4] = 19·2 to 19·6 inches.
[5] = 33 lbs. and 28 inches.
[6] = 22 lbs. and 27·2 inches.

and this factor has an influence on the feeding of the child and an effect on the weight.

Somatically, that is physically, and so far as external indications go, the first year of a girl's life is exactly similar to that of a boy. In some cases there may be abnormalities, but these arise exclusively in the genital organs and the other organs of the body connected with them. I am thinking especially of those cases which we have described in an earlier chapter as cases of precocity. But another peculiarity is by no means rare. Female children are often born with well-developed breasts. The nipples are prominent like those of a mature woman, and not infrequently, in the first few days of life, a milky fluid is secreted from the breasts of the child, which, in the popular language of some parts, is called 'witches' milk.' This phenomenon is without any doubt directly connected with the sex organs. It has received great attention, and the tendency has been to attribute it to the sex organs of the mother rather than to those of the child. As we shall have to point out more fully later, in dealing with pregnancy, certain substances – *toxins* so to speak – are elaborated in the blood and elsewhere in the organism of the pregnant woman, which cause various phenomena. It is through one of these irritants that the breasts of the pregnant woman are stimulated to activity. It has been suggested that the blood of the mother containing these substances circulates in the body of the child and so causes the phenomena just described, and that the breast glands of the babe, like those of the mother, respond to the stimulus and secrete milk. Thus we have a sex function carried over from the mother to the child! This is a very ingenious theory, but I make bold to ask one or two questions. Why have boys never been found with swollen breasts and 'witches' milk'? They too have rudimentary breasts, and under normal conditions these rudiments are not at all different in the two sexes. Why is it necessary to drag in the blood of the mother to explain this phenomenon, when we know for certain that the functioning of the breasts is *directly* and *immediately* connected with the sex organs, and that a female child may come into the world with her sex organs not only fully developed, but also capable of their full function?

It is customary to divide childhood into two stages, of which the first is called the *asexual* period and lasts from the first to the seventh year, and the second the *bisexual* period from the seventh to the fifteenth year. But, try as I may, I am unable to see any distinction between asexual and bisexual, at any rate, in childhood. Both conceptions contain the idea of *unconscious* sexuality, i.e. the child herself is quite unconscious of her sexuality. For surely it is not asserted that a child of seven to twelve years of age is bisexual in the sense that it

has ordinary male and female sexual feelings. Does a child have any sexual feelings at all in the ordinary sense of the word? I answer unhesitatingly in the negative.

Although this division may have a certain value for general purposes, it seems to me more appropriate in a discussion of the female child to suggest a different classification. I therefore propose to divide the childhood of the female into four periods which are quite unrelated to sexuality.

(1) The newly born child (birth to the end of the first year).

(2) The sexually undifferentiated period (from the second to the fourth year inclusive).

(3) The monosexual-feminine period (from the fifth to the seventh year inclusive).

(4) The pre-menstrual period (from the eighth to the fifteenth year inclusive).

I choose these four divisions because we find that, physically as well as mentally, distinctions appear during each of these periods, so striking that it is possible to tell a child's age with almost complete certainty. Finally it should be noted that the classification is based entirely on specifically feminine factors.

In the first period, which we have called that of the newly born child, we find no differences worth mentioning between the male and the female, unless we consider those slight variations in weight and size already mentioned, or the premature swelling of the breasts and precocious menstruation. These are matters which are primarily interesting only to the medical man. Otherwise, the first year in the life of a girl passes by so uneventfully that we need not consider it here; it belongs to the description of the peculiarities of childhood in general, rather than to a book dealing with the female.

It is quite otherwise in the second period which I have called 'sexually undifferentiated.' In this stage, which lasts from the second to the fourth years inclusive, most authorities claim that there are no differences between girls and boys. I am thinking particularly of the classic work of Stratz – *Das Körper des menschlichen Kindes* – in which the early 'neutral' period of childhood is represented as being absolutely without incident. However, I believe that it is necessary to point out that, during the last year of this period, a mere glance at the child – it is true, only with the experienced eye – shows a quite definite difference between girls and boys. Let the reader think for himself whether he cannot, merely by looking at a four-year-old child, judge to what sex it belongs, even though the mother, whether from excessive maternal love or merely from silly subservience to fashion, has dressed it up like a little monkey. I believe that in nine

cases out of ten the sex would be guessed correctly. Certain differences in build are already perceptible; the limbs of the girl are more graceful than those of the boy and the whole body is more rounded. Also, even though the facial expression of children of this age is in general purely childish, artless, bright, and smiling, still the feminine type can be recognised in the girl even without the ribbons, bows, and other well-known indications. I will go further; if we observe two children at play, of whom one is a boy and the other a girl, the difference becomes manifest from the movements, speech, and general demeanour of the children, so that we can say with almost complete certainty which is the boy and which the girl.

In spite of this, I retain the term 'sexually undifferentiated' because all such observations depend rather on the experience and knowledge of the observer than on the child; the child itself is, in a figurative sense, an hermaphrodite. There is, as yet, no marked tendency in either direction; it is composed at the same time of both male and female elements. These words are, of course, not intended to refer to sexual *feelings* of any sort.

There is a contrast during the next succeeding period. We might almost say that during this stage, which I have called 'monosexual-feminine,' there is a complete and almost instantaneous change, and this not only from the point of view of the observer but also in the child itself. The child is, of course, unconscious of it. Monosexual-feminine means 'peculiar to one sex and that the female sex.' I am prepared for opposition to my view, but still maintain that, already at this age, factors become operative which cause the purely feminine elements, which were already latent in the germ-cell, to become recognisable. I shall try to prove this. The period embraces the years from the fifth to the seventh inclusive, and during it there are a number of phenomena which are interesting to the lay, as well as to the medical, observer. It is the time of the change of dentition. The milk teeth of boys show no striking differences from those of girls, but it is well known that the teeth of the fully developed man are essentially different from those of the woman, both in arrangement and in strength. Now this difference manifests itself quite unmistakably even in the rudiments of the permanent teeth, which appear at the time of the second dentition during the period under discussion. The teeth of the girl show a characteristic regularity, and the relative dimensions, of the incisors in particular, are a clear mark of differentiation between the sexes. The teeth of the girl are more delicate, due perhaps to the fact that the change of dentition is completed more rapidly in the female sex.

But the difference between the two sexes during this period is even

more apparent if we consider the development of the body as a whole. Already certain characteristics are to be found which may be regarded as purely feminine and which aim at preparing the body for the sexual functions which are to come later. First let us take the thorax. Excluding excessively fat children, we find that in boys the chest is, as a rule, quite flat, whereas in girls we almost always find indications of a slight rounding of the bony thorax and a greater development of subcutaneous fat, particularly in that area which will later be occupied by the breast-glands. The 'fulness' of the body which was perceptible even during the previous period, i.e. the beautiful cushion-like arrangement of the fatty tissue, and the less prominent muscles, have now developed such a typically feminine character, that the girl, even though she have short hair and wear boys' clothes, will be recognised with certainty for what she is, even by the inexperienced eye. There are other factors also which must be considered as specially characteristic of the female sex, and which are extremely important for the later life of the woman and for her biological function. I mean particularly the widening of the bony pelvis, the beginning of which may be seen already at this period. We shall have ample opportunity, later, for pointing out in more detail the importance of the wide pelvis in the later life of the woman. As early as the sixth or seventh year, the lateral growth of the pelvis begins to take on that typical obliquity which is so characteristic of the fully developed woman. This obliquity, which is responsible for the tendency to knock-knees, is no mere æsthetic error but a very necessary provision of Nature.

It is still disputed whether there is, at this time, any difference between the growth and distribution of hair in boys and girls respectively. Careful observers claim to have established a difference in the diameter of the hair-shaft in the respective sexes. It is certainly true, at least among civilised peoples, that females have a much more marked tendency to rapid and abundant growth of hair than have males. Whether this is merely an 'adaptation' in Darwin's sense, is not for me to decide. One thing is quite certain; it is not only by the head of hair that the girl is distinguished from the boy. The whole appearance, the facial expression, the gait, in short, not *many things*, but *everything* has become typically feminine. Hence the term I have used to describe this period.

It is difficult to determine exactly when the transition takes place between this period and the succeeding one. It is necessary to observe a growing girl continuously at this time, taking note of every trifling symptom, and also necessary to be able to appreciate the slightest indication of a feminine characteristic, in order to realise the

change. It may seem rather bold to describe a girl as being in the 'pre-menstrual stage' from her eighth year, but the term seems to me to be justified, because everything about the child, physical and mental, visible and invisible, is working gradually towards maturity – that maturity which, in the female, is attained with the onset of the first menstruation.

In dealing with this important subject we must avoid taking a one-sided view. We must consider not only the woman of our countries, our climate, and our period. We must look at Woman in general, and it is for this reason that we designate the period from the eighth year onwards as pre-menstrual. It is a well known fact that in many countries the first menstruation does not occur, as amongst us, between the twelfth and fifteenth years, but begins *normally* in the eighth, ninth, or tenth year. We shall discuss this later; I mention it here merely to justify the term 'pre-menstrual.' It is the period which directly or indirectly leads up to menstruation, and occasions all those alterations which make the girl into a mature woman. Now for the first time we note the absolutely typical feminine facial expression, with the attractive dimples and roguish eyes, which the girl, and the girl alone, displays at this time. Already we see the typical 'charm' which develops even further in later life. The rounding of the body, already perceptible in the sixth or seventh year, becomes more marked, the widening of the pelvis proceeds more rapidly, and the thighs become more oblique in consequence. Gait and deportment already approximate to the typically feminine, as though decreed by Nature. It may be thought that this typical gait is due to deliberate affectation, but it is not so. It is due to unknown factors already latent in the germ-cell and to psychic processes which will be examined in Book II. With giant strides the pre-menstrual period advances towards the years which now follow, the years of *adolescence* as they are generally called.

All the changes noted in the monosexual-feminine period develop still further; dentition, hair, and indeed the whole physical development, progress in the direction already indicated. It is not necessary to spend any more time considering them as they will have to be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

YEARS OF DEVELOPMENT AND ADOLESCENCE

PROFESSOR STRATZ, in his *Die Körperpflege der Frau*, entitles his chapter on the years of adolescence 'Maturity' (German, *Reife*), and begins his discussion of this important subject as follows: 'With the gradual onset of maturity her life as a woman really begins, and her whole future depends on proper care during this period.' While I cannot agree with the first part of this sentence, I cannot sufficiently praise the last half of it. It should be written in letters of gold in the bedroom of every young girl. We constantly find that girls fail to receive the enlightenment and sympathetic guidance which they need at this time more than at any other. Mothers are prudish; the very things that the girl ought to know are deliberately concealed, or are explained in such a way that it is most unlikely that she will understand the processes going on within her body.

The onset of the first menstruation is, naturally, the most important event during this stage, since it is the first external indication of what Stratz calls 'maturity' (*Reife*). But since we know, and can prove statistically, that the first menstrual period is by no means the first *regular* menstrual period, it seems desirable to preserve a distinction between maturity (*Reife*) and development (*Entwicklung*). It has been frequently observed that a girl of twelve or thirteen years may have her first menstrual flow, and then many months or even one or two years may elapse before menstruation becomes regular. Would it not be a grave error to describe as 'mature' a young girl who sees bloodstains on one occasion, and then sees nothing more for many months. She cannot yet be regarded as adult. Only very gradually does the child develop into the adolescent girl and later into the mature woman. It is therefore wrong to call this period that of 'maturity.'

The differences between boys and girls which have been described in the last chapter now become more marked. The rounding of the thighs and buttocks becomes almost excessive (if this epithet is permissible). There is an astonishing disproportion between the width of the buttocks and the relatively small torso during the years of adolescence. This rapid increase in width is due to the widening of the bony pelvis from side to side, so that the hips come to be further and further apart. At the same time there is a continuous growth of the pelvic musculature and of the subcutaneous fat in this region. The thighs, up to now only slightly oblique, show a marked tendency to knock-knees. The growth, as we have already pointed out, is natural and inevitable, and is for the purpose of making the pelvis more suitable for its later task of childbirth.

I have mentioned this change in the pelvis first, because it is really only perceptible to the expert eye. The other phenomena, now to be dealt with, are so generally obvious that it would be unnecessary to mention them at all, but that it is interesting to explain and analyse their gradual appearance, from the scientific point of view. During these years, which are popularly known as the 'flapper' period, the facial expression becomes more and more roguish. The girl notes with pride the growth of her breasts; she is always looking at them and yearns to have, as soon as possible, a bosom which will be visible to others. How mortified she is if its growth is not rapid enough and her companions of the same age are ahead of her!

Let us examine these changes in the breasts more closely. Until now, they have appeared as small swellings, only slightly raised from the thorax, although sufficiently to show a distinction between the chest of a boy and that of a girl. They now pass through a stage of rapid development in which, almost from day to day, perceptible changes take place. The little swellings which marked the beginning of the bosom rise gradually at their centres where the nipples are situated. Until now the nipples have been about as big as a lentil and somewhat darker in colour than the surrounding skin. First of all, a pad of fat about 5 or 6 cm.[1] in diameter appears, even in children who are otherwise thin. This rises towards the centre, i.e. towards the nipple, and gradually spreads outwards. In addition to this the *areola* – the circular area immediately surrounding the nipple – which has until now been absolutely flat and distinguished from the surrounding tissue only by its colour – rises together with the nipple above the pad of fat which is developing underneath. When I speak of a pad of fat I am using a popular term. Really this growth of the breast is not due only to fat but also to the development of innumerable small glands. These have always been present in a rudimentary form, but they now develop into groups and go on increasing. Their excretory ducts unite to form larger ducts which all open externally at the nipple. The areola is now seen to be beset with tiny structures varying in size from that of a pin-head to that of a poppy-seed. These so-called *accessory nipples* can be seen later throughout the life of the woman. In many women they go on developing, though more slowly than the true nipple, so that doctors sometimes come across cases of fully developed accessory nipples which are not confined to their proper area – the areola – but are found far from the nipple itself on some other part of the chest. This is a sport of Nature which, however, is usually regarded by its unfortunate victim as a tragedy; for they are justly viewed as an æsthetic drawback and are often removed surgically.

[1] About 2 inches.

The bosom continues to grow slowly; the swellings become firmer; the skin stretches more and more tightly over them; the berry-like protrusion, the nipple, stands out more and more prominently. At this time those tiny nerve-endings, which are so important in later life, begin to develop and can be shown anatomically in the nipple itself and in the areola. These are the nerves which, when stimulated externally, bring about a contraction of the small muscle fibres so that the nipple hardens and becomes erect and stands out even more prominently than in the passive condition. This phenomenon, looked at from the biological standpoint, has an obvious and definite purpose. It is for facilitating the spontaneous entrance of the nipple into the mouth of the child at the slightest contact. The child must obtain its nourishment without any trouble. But these nerves also have a second purpose: they make the nipple and areola an *erogenous zone*, i.e. an area of the skin the stimulation of which evokes erotic feelings. This is why the bosom plays such an important rôle in the love life of humanity. May it not also be the reason why the girl – of course, quite unconsciously – attaches such great importance to the development of her breasts? Is it really only the wish not to lag behind her companions? Is it really only the conviction that at last she is to be regarded no longer as a girl but as a young woman? The question of the sexual basis of all this interest in the breasts will be answered later in the affirmative. Here let us merely assert that for a young girl the growth and development of the breasts have the same importance as the beginnings of the moustache in the adolescent boy. He also feels that this is the outward and visible sign that he has reached, or will soon reach, manhood.

In our civilisation, the breasts are the only generally visible sign of the development which is taking place; but, at the same time, there occur other external, though not generally visible, signs of approaching maturity. These changes are so characteristic that, quite apart from other indications, they stamp the individual as sexually mature. I refer, of course, to the beginning of the growth of the pubic hair, which varies both in the time of its onset and the rapidity with which it proceeds. Before going on to a description of the growth and distribution of the hair on the two important parts of the body – the pubes and the armpits – let me first point out the differences which are typical of the respective sexes. These differences seem to be intended by Nature for the purpose of distinguishing externally between male and female. With all due respect to Darwin's theory, without which we could not explain most important biological phenomena, this sexual difference in the distribution of the pubic hair requires further consideration. According to his theory, the fact that the body of the

fully developed male is entirely covered with hair, is explained as an adaptation to the conditions of life of primitive man. The many centuries which elapsed between primitive man and ourselves, have not yet been sufficient to check, to an extent compatible with modern æsthetic needs, the growth of external hair, which served primitive man as a protection against the rigours of the climate. Would it not be more reasonable to seek the explanation of this difference in the theory that Nature, quite unmindful of the external hardships to which the human body was formerly exposed, developed this growth of hair in order to make a difference in the external appearance of the two sexes? Let us compare the conditions prevailing among animals. Does not the mane of the lion suggest comparison with the body-hair of the human male? Does not the man's beard constitute an external decoration analogous to the antlers of the roebuck, which make it so different in appearance from the doe?

The hairiness of the body is a typical male character, and appears gradually during the years of adolescence, at the same time as the hairs begin to appear in the armpits and on the pubes of the growing girl. In the latter the first hairs usually appear above the genital cleft, very sparsely, on that somewhat raised triangular area, padded with fatty tissue, which is called the *mons veneris*. The little hairs are at first thin and quite straight and only later do they become curly and form a dense bush. It is most interesting, and certainly not a mere accident, that the pubic hair, which in the woman grows along both sides of the *labia majora*, has, from the outset, a distinctly different distribution from that of the male. As a rule, the upper limit in the female is a quite definite horizontal line at the upper extremity of the *mons veneris*. The hair goes on developing until, at full maturity, it finally assumes a triangular shape. The upper side of the triangle is the aforementioned horizontal line and the other two sides are formed by the groin. In the male, the upper limit is not a straight line and the hair is not confined to the area corresponding to the *mons veneris*, but, as a rule, grows up as far as the navel, gradually thinning out, and there becomes part of the general body hair. Rarely, and generally only in brunettes, we find women whose pubic hair is continued up to the navel; but this is always so sparse that the hairs can be counted. We also find women who even have a few hairs (four or five little ones) near the nipples. But as a rule, the female body, except for the armpits and the front surface of the lower leg (and this latter strongly developed only in brunettes) is free from hair. If we find hair in other parts of the body, e.g. on the thighs, arms, etc., we can be quite certain that such women will show a tendency to grow hair on the upper lip, and these represent only some of the male attributes always

found in women of this type. We shall explain this later and also point out that such a blend of male and female characters is not confined to external appearance, but has psychological consequences in addition. Such women are not purely feminine in other respects, e.g. in their sexual feelings and behaviour. Although their germ-cell was female in its main tendency, it also contained some male elements; we have a sort of mixture of the two sexes.

The hair beneath the armpits develops later than the pubic hair, remains, as a rule, sparser, and shows no marked variation in the two sexes.

This description of the growth of the breasts and the pubic hair would be incomplete if we did not mention a number of matters which are of very great interest as showing how the customs and views of various peoples in respect of these parts of the body have developed. The number of these customs in different ages, among different peoples, and in different countries, is so great that it is impossible to enumerate even the most important of them. Impossible because each people, or tribe, regards its views as the only correct ones. One general fact stands out amidst the vast mass of material which has been collected on the subject, and that is that great importance has always been attributed to the female breasts and to the external appearance of the pubic zone. And let us frankly admit that it is still so among ourselves. We shall see how different has been the æsthetic view-point of various peoples and how elastic is the conception of feminine beauty.

There is no people on earth whose poetry does not contain some reference to the beauty of woman in general and the beauty of the female breasts in particular. The poets of all ages have sung the beauty of woman and the beauty of the female breast as the greatest glories of Nature. They have, however, not followed any one erotic motif. They are full of images which attempt to portray the beauty of the breasts accurately. Sometimes they are compared to pomegranates, sometimes to peaches, sometimes to globes of alabaster. Taking their cue from these exuberant poetical descriptions, the graphic arts, both sculpture and painting, have also generally shown a marked preference for the depiction of the naked female breast, and especially of the virgin breast. It is sufficient to mention Cranach's 'Lucretia,' the well-known 'Mona Lisa' of Leonardo da Vinci, and Canova's 'The Three Graces,' which have been so much reproduced – often badly.

In all these, and in thousands of other paintings and sculptures, we find that beautiful breasts have stood for feminine beauty. The Flemish and Dutch painters, especially Rubens, represented their female figures with strongly, one might almost say excessively,

developed breasts. These do not appeal to our present-day æsthetic feeling and do not seem appropriate to the charm of the women's faces, but we should not on that account deny to these artists a feeling for feminine beauty. We must remember that they shared the taste prevailing at their period, according to which a woman's beauty was proportional to the development of her bust and thighs. This preference for adipose tissue can be observed to-day in Africa. There, some peoples, like the Hottentots, by means of a special diet, make their women so fat that it is impossible for them to walk properly. The fattest, which means the best fed, is regarded as the most beautiful and worthy to be the wife of a king.

As for all other æsthetic factors in human sexual life, we find the highest praise and keenest appreciation of the breast in that people which, thousands of years ago, long before any other, had developed love and eroticism into what may be accurately described as a science – the Hindus. The Ancient Indian *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka (*The Secret of the Art of Love*) is the most important work in Indian erotic literature and has a high value even from our modern standpoint, for even in the worst translations we find paragraphs which may be described as the foundation-stones of the erotic art. We shall be referring to this book quite frequently as well as to the work of another Indian erotic writer, Vatsyayana, and again and again we shall find that the gifts of keen observation and poetic feeling which the Hindus brought to the study of apparently obscene erotic subjects, will give us great assistance. At the outset, it shows a profound understanding of all the characteristics of woman, that we find, in Indian erotic literature, a division of women into different classes, in accordance with both physical qualities and character traits. Each class is given favourable or unfavourable nicknames. Thus, the *Ratirahasya* describes the most beautiful and desirable type of Hindu maiden – *Padmini* – as follows: 'The tenderness of a lotus bud, in whose love juices is the perfume of the blossoming lotus, and whose body exhales a heavenly fragrance; whose eyes are like the gazelle's and red in the corners; *whose breasts are beyond praise and put to shame the beauty of the Ægle Marmelos*.'[1]

Sridhari writes: 'The woman with a face like the moon, eyes like the gazelle, and brows like the bow of the love God: she is cool as the moon: her teeth are even and regular: her odorous countenance attracts the bees: her voice is gentle like that of the Indian cuckoo: she has *Bimba* lips: a well-shaped neck: arms like the delicate stems of the lotus: and hands and feet like the red lotus: *her breasts are like the Ægle Marmelos* – such is the God-like woman *Padmini.*

[1] The Baël fruit, or Bengal quince.

The second class of Indian women are called *Citrini*. In Ragimanjari's book *The Bouquet of the Art of Love*, this type is described as follows: 'The *Citrini* knows the taste of passion: is neither too tall nor too short: her nose is beautiful as the sesame blossom: she has a supple body, lotus eyes, *beautiful and firm breasts*; she is intelligent, endowed with all the virtues and has an ever-changing countenance.'

We notice in all these descriptions of female beauty that the breast is always included. We should be guilty of an omission if we did not give an example of the description of the type of woman which, according to Indian ideas of beauty, stood lowest in the scale – the *Hastini*. In this quotation, in addition to other shortcomings, we note that the breasts are expressly mentioned. In the *Light of Love* of Smaradipika the characteristics of the unattractive woman are enumerated as follows: 'Restlessness, gluttony, garrulousness, coarse legs, bent back, stout body, coarse features, coarse teeth, dark complexion, unattractive figure, coarse mouth, medium height, misshapen features, thin hair, bad odour, slovenly walk, *coarse pendulous breasts*, fondness for vocal and instrumental music, sensuality, thick lips, misshapen nose, hunched back, *a black line on the breasts*, pock-marks, coarse black hair, cruelty, dwarfishness, sharp nose, hairiness, amorousness, unpleasant smell when sexually excited, a walk like that of an elephant in heat (!), covetousness, *huge breasts*.' In another book and in *Ratimanyari*, from which we have already quoted, we find among other unpleasant characteristics attributed to the *Hastini* that '*breasts like the brows of an elephant*' are expressly mentioned.

The importance of the breast in the Indian idea of beauty may be gathered also from the recipes given for increasing their size and beauty. The following is from the *Ratirahasya:* 'Continuous treatment with antimony and rice water will cause the breasts of a young girl to become large and prominent so that they will steal the heart of the connoisseur as a robber steals gold.' Are these few words not more expressive than thousands of extravagant modern verses?

The famous Austrian anatomist, Hyrtl, when discussing the female breast in his text-book, declares that it is only in the white and yellow races that the breasts of maidens are round and firm; those of the black races are, at the same age, long, pointed, and pendulous, in short, more like udders. Although this may appear true on superficial observation, the anatomist who studies the matter more closely will find that it is not really so. The shape, size, and form of the female breast do not depend on race alone but rather on the many *deliberate* changes in size and shape due to the artificial treatment practised by many peoples. Their æsthetic standards are quite different from ours. We meet here with a *deformation* in the strictest sense of the word,

which is perhaps intended to prepare the breasts for suckling. Though we may smile at these customs of the so-called uncivilised peoples, though we can scarcely believe that, from the earliest years of childhood, they work systematically to shape the breasts in accordance with the prevailing idea of beauty, we who call ourselves civilised are really no better. For what is the corset? Must we not class this steel-ribbed cuirass, which is accepted by civilisation and so prettily named the corset, with those leather cuirasses in which, among some of the Caucasian peoples, e.g. the Osseties, the girl at the age of seven is literally sewn up, and which she must not remove, day or night, until her marriage? This harness, which is called *Khalynkarts*, encloses the breast and abdomen from the collar-bone to the pelvis and has hard pieces of timber strongly bound together with a cord along the breast and down the whole length of the back. On the wedding night it is the husband's privilege to cut these strings and so free the woman from her cuirass. It has served as an external sign of virginity, but has also brought about an atrophy of the breasts. Is there then really such a difference between ourselves and the primitive peoples? Is not the corset again essentially the same as the wooden girdle still found in some parts of the Northern Tyrol, which is worn by girls from the age of puberty? This compresses the chest and the breasts to such an extent that, although they may have already begun to develop normally, they degenerate completely and the nipples come to lie directly on the chest without any underlying fatty tissue. This is done simply because they regard an exuberant bosom as an absolute deformity. Again, can we really say that the custom of wearing corsets, which prevails among ourselves, is essentially different from the well-known and well authenticated custom of the Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? There, the ladies tried to prevent the development of the breasts by pressing plates of lead on the swelling breasts of young girls, with such success that in many Spanish ladies the bust, instead of being prominent, was flat or even hollow! A well developed and rounded bosom was regarded as unattractive, so that young girls were more ashamed of a developing bosom than of any other physical deformity.

None the less the size and shape of the breast – and in this respect Hyrtl is to a certain extent correct – may be a racial characteristic. I am thinking now of the well-known and much sought after wet-nurses of certain Slavic races, who have such strongly developed breasts. In contrast to these are the small breasts of the women of England and North America, scarcely rising above the level of the chest. Again I am moved to compare the civilised and primitive peoples. Both are equally slaves of ever-changing fashion. Are not

the devices employed by both adopted in compliance with the particular idea of beauty which happens to be prevailing at the moment? At one time the breasts must not be too big; at another time they must not be too small. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that the taste of men is the most important factor. But perhaps there is another, more important factor – the purely erotic influence exercised by the female breast. This subject will be discussed in detail later.

Before discussing some very interesting details of customs relating to the care of the breasts prevailing among some uncivilised peoples, let us consider the views of the German-speaking peoples on this question. Naturally, the shape and size of the breasts in the cities and other great centres of civilisation are determined chiefly by fashion. We all know that in recent years the slender figure has become popular, and accordingly all ladies of fashion have tried by means of massage or tightly fitting corsets to avoid the appearance of an abundant bosom. In the interests of health this fashion must be condemned, for the breasts should be well formed and healthy for suckling, and not atrophied or deformed in accordance with the dictates of fashion. All civilised peoples have long agreed that natural breast-feeding is the only rational method of feeding infants, and that it may be of vital importance for the future development of the child and its whole future health. Now it is easy to see that the compression of the breasts, even in early years, must have a permanent effect on their development so that women who have maltreated their breasts in this fashion can never offer their children what, as real mothers, it is their duty to offer.

B. Oppermann, in his description of the women of the Bregenzerwald, writes: 'Their figures are strong and thick-set, the hips wide, the legs regularly shaped; only one thing is completely lacking – a breast! Everywhere one notices the same deficiency, even among the mountain women; and it is striking that the same condition is found even in women who are otherwise generously built. This may be due to the fact that mothers tie wooden plates on to their daughters if they show a tendency to become conspicuous on account of prominent breasts, and thus forcibly check the development of one of the most beautiful adornments of the female.' Although this description was written over sixty years ago – published in 1859 – it is still true to some extent, for this evil custom has persisted in the Bregenzerwald right up to our own day, as I know from my own observations. It is found not only there but has spread all over the Tyrol and has become as typical of the women of these districts as poaching is of the men!

We must now describe the uncivilised peoples in some detail. I

must refer again to the classic work of Ploss-Barthel, for no other scientist provides so much interesting and almost incredible information about primitive peoples. I shall begin with the customs of Kaffirs, which to our eyes appear almost grotesque. Among them the mothers begin to pay special attention to the breasts of their daughters at the age of seven or eight and follow the ancient regime rigidly. If they neglected this, they would not only expose themselves to violent reproaches but would cause the whole clan to be despised, and would be regarded as unnatural mothers. They smear the budding breasts with an ointment prepared from oil and various carefully prescribed herbs, and massage with the finger-tips the soft parts surrounding the nipple – or more correctly, the rudiment of the nipple – and gradually draw the nipple out. Every day the breast gland is drawn out so as to become long and thin, and when it has finally assumed a certain shape it is bound up firmly with bark, forcibly checked from further development, and compelled to retain this shape. Thus it comes about that the breasts ultimately, after maturity, resemble two long, thin, drawn-out tubes on whose lower extremities the long and pointed nipples stand out prominently. It is interesting to find the explanation of a practice so alien to our ideas of beauty. One was found at last and is recorded by S. Hollander in an article which appeared in 1866 in *Westermann's Magazine*. He reports an observation made during a voyage of exploration. Among the Basutos, one of the Kaffir tribes, he found the following peculiar custom: the women carry their infants and children on their backs and suckle them by simply passing the breasts backwards under the arms. It is only natural that these women, before their confinement, should endeavour to enlarge and prolong the breasts by drawing them out in order to be able to carry out this method of breast feeding without inconvenience. However beautiful the breasts of the young Kaffir may have been originally, after the birth of the first child they are two long pendent tubes which can easily be thrown under the arms on to the back!

According to Polak, we find in Persia that the breasts are rather too small than too large, and it is not until after several confinements that they develop somewhat more fully, and are then pressed into a sort of tight corset, which naturally checks further development. Of course the nipple can no longer properly perform its function. By way of remedy there is in these countries a most curious custom; young puppies are put to the breast and these duly draw the breast out by sucking and thus gradually bring about a better development. Thus dogs have to make good what the corset has destroyed. Even more curious is another communication from the same author.

According to this, the women of certain of the nomadic tribes of Persia allow themselves to be milked in the market-places of the larger towns, and their milk is sold in jugs to the aged and infirm! Something similar is recounted by the same author of the women of the seaport towns of China, who have also learnt to ply a trade in their own milk. When a boat puts into one of these ports after a long journey, hundreds of women appear who are willing, for a consideration, to sell their own freshly drawn milk to the voyagers and thus make up for the deficiency of fresh animal milk for the market.

It is a well-known fact that the breasts of negresses have a somewhat tubular form and hang down low on to the abdomen. This, according to many African explorers, is due to similar customs prevailing among these peoples.

As the prototype – if I may so call it – of the absolutely ugly woman in general and the most ugly form of breast in particular, it is usual to take the Hottentots. A thorough investigation of the cause of the curious taste of the Hottentots, so incomprehensible to our ideas, brought to light the fact that the original tendency of the breasts in Hottentot women was not very unlike that of European women. As among us, the breasts first develop as small rounded bodies, and only gradually do they take on an udder-like shape, so that they become flabby, pendulous, sack-like bodies almost resting on the over-fat abdomen. Generally speaking, it is the same among the aborigines of Australia and among some of the Indian peoples of South America. In all these cases the complete lack of breast hygiene is one factor, and another is the desire to have breasts as large as possible – part of the general pride in excessive fat.

Now we have to deal with another very important point. Among almost all primitive peoples the duration of the period of suckling is very different from what it is among civilised peoples. Whereas the latter limit suckling to early infancy, we find that primitive peoples apparently set no time limit to it. Among the peasants of our own countries we may find children of three or four years old being suckled, but this is mild compared with the unlimited suckling seen among primitive peoples. There, children feed from the breast as long as they can – as long as they want to do so! According to Schomburgk's account of his travels in British Guiana, the women of the Macusso Indians retain the capacity to suckle throughout the whole of their life. This practice has, among them, assumed monstrous dimensions. In families where there are too many children the grandmothers assume the rôle of wet-nurse, and take their duties so seriously that they continue to suckle the children even when quite grown up. Thus quite commonly one sees great strapping boys stand-

ing at the side of their grandmothers, and tugging at their breasts. But they go even further. A sense of duty also compels the same old women to take young sucklings of apes and other pets to their breasts; so that one may frequently find a woman with a child at one breast and a young animal at the other, and every woman seeks to excel in the number of animals which she rears in this manner. In Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, as well as in many other countries, the dog is the animal which is usually preferred for this purpose and is idolised, so that one can almost always, among the aborigines of these countries, meet women who are suckling dogs. There appears to be some evidence of this practice or malpractice amongst the ancient Romans. When to-day we find dogs being used to improve or regulate the capacity of suckling in badly developed breasts, I believe that we are justified, and even obliged, to classify the peoples who do this as savages, in spite of their white skins.

In our discussion of the years of adolescence, we have so far dealt exclusively with external signs, obvious indications even to the superficial observer that the maiden is gradually maturing. Now we must deal with the internal processes which, from the medical point of view, are much more important.

It is not only through the development of the breasts and the growth of the pubic hair that the girl becomes a woman. An internal process, which is the most important and most sensational event in the whole life of a woman, really brings about this change. I mean, of course, the occurrence of the first menstruation, the first monthly flow, the first 'period.'

We have already had occasion to touch upon this subject in order to explain some facts which met us in the course of the study of the girl's development. But we refrained from going fully into this question, because each of its details is so important that it must be discussed and analysed minutely. It is only through the first menstruation that the girl becomes a woman in the proper sense of the word; it is only thus that she attains maturity and becomes fully capable of her natural function – reproduction. We also desire to discuss this question in some detail, in order to bring light into one of the dark problems of woman's life, for, incredible as it may appear, very few women know what menstruation really is. Most women accept menstruation with an indifference bordering on laziness, as something which simply *happens*, and are not in the least concerned with attempting to discover the nature, purpose, and reason of this phenomenon. We confess that we have never looked for such a desire for knowledge in uneducated women, but one might at least expect that, among women of the educated classes at any rate, some glimmer of the truth

might be found. But no! We never receive a correct, or even approximately correct, answer if we ask women to explain this monthly occurrence. They are unable to give any answer to the question. They know only what they have heard from their companions, and do not appear to realise how undignified it is for them to bestow so little attention on a process which plays such a great part in their lives. This is one of the greatest defects in education! It is a mistake, out of false prudery or shame, to omit an explanation and to refrain from speaking on a subject which is as important in the life of a woman as sleeping, eating, or drinking; which is just as natural as the functioning of any other organ of the body. Would a mother ever be ashamed to explain to her daughter the function of, say, the salivary glands? Is not the wonderful function of the ovaries a thousand times more important than that of any other organ? Is it not this alone on which the human being, life, the whole race, mankind, is ultimately based?

I have taken the trouble of asking a hundred of my patients, all women of a high grade of intelligence and of varying ages, what did they think menstruation really was? I shall give the result of this test, and then women who read this book may consider how they would have answered it. Nine could give no reply at all! In the other ninety-one cases I was given the typical reply 'That, by means of the period, bad blood was carried away from the woman's body!' None of them could explain exactly what she meant by this, and none could say what happened to the 'bad blood' of the man! These figures speak for themselves.

Another very common theory of menstruation is that it is due to the death and discharge of an unfertilised ovum. Although on the whole this view is quite false, it does contain at least one factor which is founded on something intelligible, namely that there must be some connection between the formation of the ovum and the monthly period. We have already (p. 32) spoken in detail of the process of the ripening of eggs in the ovaries, which we call *ovulation*. The Graafian follicle bursts, the mature ovum migrates into the oviduct and thence into the uterus. If it is fertilised before or during this migration, its development begins. We have also already mentioned that the remaining part of the Graafian follicle changes first into the so-called corpus luteum and later forms a scar.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century it was believed that ovulation was directly connected with menstruation, and that a hitherto unexplained nervous connection accounted for the menstrual flow. This view gained strength from the results of operations for the removal, either partial or complete, of the internal sex organs of the woman. (Such operations were carried out far too frequently when

surgery first began to progress about the middle of last century.) It was then noticed that, after the removal of the ovaries, the menstrual periods ceased forthwith. What was more natural than to assume that an inner connection must exist between the ovaries and menstruation? Pflüger suggested that the growth of an ovum caused a nervous excitation of the ovary which in turn brought about a congestion of the uterus. The discharge of this superfluous blood occasioned the phenomena of menstruation.

At the end of the last century many scientists tried to work out this theory of Pflüger's and arrived at the rather surprising result that the theory that a purely nervous impulse was responsible for menstruation was not correct. It was proved by experiments on animals that the ovaries, when quite removed from their original position and therefore from their connection with the uterus, and implanted in some other position in the body, were still able to cause the regular occurrence of the menstrual periods. Putting these two facts side by side, that on the one hand the extirpation of the ovaries brought about a cessation of the period, and that on the other hand the presence of the ovaries *in any position at all in the body* left the periods unaffected, the conclusion was finally arrived at that the ovary, by virtue of its glandular activity, was responsible for menstruation. Further research, which I do not think it necessary to mention in detail in a book which is intended for the general public, has increased our knowledge so that to-day we know that it is not the ovary itself, but the corpus luteum, which first brings about an over-development of the mucous membrane of the uterus. This hypertrophy of the mucous membrane is for the purpose of providing a well-prepared nidus, in case of need, for the ovum which is either already fertilised or may be fertilised. The ovum must nest firmly in the uterus in order to be able to grow, in the course of nine months, into a fully developed child. If it happens that fertilisation does not take place, the mucous membrane, which has been so carefully prepared, is no longer necessary, the tiny capillaries in the mucous membrane burst and break asunder, the membrane itself degenerates, and is discharged through the vagina along with some blood. This is the menstrual flow!

The ovary itself and the corpora lutea possess a so-called internal secretory activity, i.e. the glands secrete a fluid, the stimulus of which is able to bring about the processes just described. It is therefore quite clear that there must be a connection between ovulation and menstruation. We can also easily understand that these two processes can never take place at the same time; for a period of several days at least must elapse between the discharge of the ovum, the hypertrophy of the uterine mucous membrane and its final discharge if

unwanted. We also see that a woman can only have her menstrual periods so long as ova are produced and discharged by the ovaries, i.e. as long as she is capable of sexual activity. If the discharge of ova ceases, the formation of corpora lutea naturally comes to an end, the internal secretion stops, and menstruation can no longer take place.

Why does menstruation cease during pregnancy? On the occasion of unavoidable operations on pregnant women, it has been noted that the corpus luteum, even after several months, was still to be seen at some spot or other on the surface of the ovary, whereas, in non-pregnant women, it is no longer visible even after a few weeks, because it has already changed into a scar. In the third or fourth month of pregnancy, this structure, which, at the beginning, was about the size of a pinhead, has attained a diameter of more than 2 centimetres[1] and remains in this form up till the end of the pregnancy. The answer to our question lies then in the fact that the presence of this body in the ovary is related to the internal secretory activity of the latter, and the corpus luteum itself also secretes certain substances or fluids, i.e. itself plays the rôle of a ductless gland. The uterus already contains the embryo; the formation of a new nidus of hypertrophied membrane is no longer necessary; the discharge of an apparently unwanted mucous membrane is no longer possible; menstruation ceases for the duration of the pregnancy. It is of course a fact perfectly familiar to the medical man, that there are exceptions to this rule and that sometimes menstruation continues more or less regularly during pregnancy.

It is only to be expected that the development of an ovum in a Graafian follicle should take some time, and that therefore an interval must elapse before the complete maturing, bursting, and discharge of the ovum. In a healthy woman the period required varies between twenty-five and twenty-eight days.[2] This process is, of course, just as invisible as the migration of the ovum into the oviduct and thence into the uterus, which now follows and also takes several days. At the same time the activity of the corpus luteum begins, i.e the development of mucous membrane in the uterus, which, in case of non-fertilisation, fails to achieve its purpose and passes away with the menstrual flow. The formation of ova – ovulation – and the discharge of the mucous membrane of the uterus – menstruation – are thus two quite distinct processes which must be kept rigidly separated from each other. The former is not visible; the latter, on account of the accompanying hæmorrhage, can be observed periodically. From the

[1] i.e. about ⅘ inch.

[2] Editor's Note. It may vary within wider limits – between 21 and 35 days – without being considered abnormal.

regularity of menstruation we are able to deduce the regularity of ovulation. But it is only in a perfectly healthy woman that this function is regular, normal, and periodic. If on account of illness there is any disturbance of ovulation, or of the glandular activity of the ovaries, the regular periods cease and we have *irregular* hæmorrhages, from which symptom alone we can conclude that there is some disturbance in the function of the ovaries. If a perfectly healthy woman fails to menstruate at her regular time, the first thing we think of is that fertilisation has taken place; this of course only after sexual intercourse has occurred.

It appears to us to be only natural that from the earliest times it was impossible to ignore the striking external manifestations of menstruation. Thus we find that in the most ancient medical books there are many references to menstruation, and on account of the naïve methods of thought prevailing, and the scanty knowledge of the hidden processes occurring in the body of the woman, they were rather too apt to connect menstruation *directly* with generation. To us the most plausible and natural of these primitive views appear to be those of the peoples who lived natural lives far from big cities and all traces of urban civilisation. Practising agriculture and living in close contact with animals, they could naturally observe at first hand what was always going on around them – the regularly recurring phenomena of Nature. These people had learnt to recognise the condition known as *rut* (or *heat*) in animals, and knew that it was accompanied by fitness for copulation. They also saw that at this time there was a discharge of blood from the sexual organs of the female animal, similar to that which takes place in the human female. Nothing was more natural than to compare human menstruation with rut in animals, and indeed to regard the two phenomena as identical. They took no notice of the many differences which occur to the critical observer, and were satisfied that they had at last found a solution to the problem of menstruation.

Indeed the two processes, rut and menstruation, have so many points of resemblance, that they actually call for comparison, and seem intended by Nature for the same purpose. Both processes are concerned, directly and indirectly, with the formation of the ovum and the preparation of the uterus as a nidus for the embryo, whether animal or human; both processes manifest themselves as a congestion of the female organs; in both, the female discharges from the vagina a flow of mixed mucous membrane and blood; and in both we notice that, after these almost revolutionary events, a period of rest supervenes, a kind of internal sexual rest – the duration of which, it is true, shows great variation. In spite of all the apparently identical

phenomena just mentioned, there are, none the less, innumerable differences, on account of which the human being, even in this respect, rises to a much higher level than the animals.

The rutting time of animals occurs at definite seasons; we know the time exactly – almost to a day. The menstrual period in woman begins at puberty, and lasts, independently of seasons, in exactly recurring cycles for about thirty years without intermission. In animals, rut is the time when the female is ready for copulation, when she attracts the male, and when conception takes place. But among human beings the contrary is the case. At the time of the period, neither the man nor the woman feels any sexual impulse.[1] With us these are just the very days of abstinence, during which one can say quite certainly that conception scarcely ever takes place. After the rutting period of animals a complete pause occurs, a period of sexual rest, which appears to be due to the fact that the female has, as a rule, been covered during rut, and as a result is pregnant. It has been proved that the majority of female animals absolutely avoid coitus of any description as soon as impregnation has taken place. But, quite apart from pregnancy, a period of many months must elapse before the season of rut returns again, and the female again experiences desire for the male. In human beings, immediately after the cessation of menstruation, those internal processes of the ripening of the ovum, the bursting of a Graafian follicle, the functioning of the corpus luteum. and the change in the mucous membrane of the uterus, begin anew. The 'pause' is thus in the case of human beings only external; in the internal genital organs no such pause takes place: Here we must emphasise a basic difference between menstruation and rut, which has been conclusively proved by many investigators. In human beings, ovulation is the primary, preparatory, activating factor, and only through it and by it does menstruation take place in the case of non-fertilisation. But rut in animals is just the opposite, for it is not until the end of rut that the process analogous to ovulation occurs. The ovum is not produced until *after* rut.

The human female seeks freedom from sexual intercourse during menstruation and tries to conceal and dispose of the menstrual flow, knowing quite well that it has a repelling effect on the male. It is usually thought to be quite natural that an absolute disinclination for sexual intercourse should be felt at this time. On the other hand, the rutting animal experiences during this time, *and only during this time*,

[1] Editor's Note. In my experience, this statement is too sweeping. A good many of my women patients have told me that their sexual desire is strongest during menstruation, though æsthetic feeling often prevents them from gratifying it at this time.

the desire for copulation; the female attracts the male by means of the vaginal secretion and especially by its peculiar odour; so that the male often wanders for hours until he has found the rutting female, and then pursues her until copulation takes place. Here we have the most complete contrast between human beings and animals. Every factor mentioned here in respect of animals has a well-defined purpose in the scheme of Nature. Heat brings order into the sex life of animals, driving them willy-nilly to procreation, and thus fulfilling unconsciously the mysterious purposes of Nature. But after all are they really so mysterious? Animals only experience sexual desire at certain times – they come on heat at the time which is most favourable, in accordance with the climate and other external factors, for providing the greatest possible facilities for feeding, and thus ensuring the favourable environment for the young animals after they are born. No such consideration is necessary in the case of human beings, and therefore among them there is no seasonal period of heat. The capacity to copulate, to impregnate, and to give birth are not confined to any one season nor limited by any other external factor. No obstacle must be placed in the way of human reproduction!

We have just mentioned that among human beings, at the time of menstruation, a disinclination of both sexes to any sort of sex function, especially coitus, is found. The reason for this lies, I think, primarily, in the fact that the discharge of blood, in itself anything but attractive, contains shreds of mucous membrane and is always liable to decompose. It exhales a quite characteristic, pungent odour, which is repulsive to the male. In addition to this the psychic life of the woman is liable to changes during the period of menstruation just as her body is; changes of circulation and respiration, disturbances of the nervous system which evidence themselves in greater or lesser irritability, and more or less severe dragging cramp-like pains in the lower abdomen. All these and many more individual symptoms cause such a change in the woman's condition and behaviour, that she quite unconsciously awakens in men the impression that she desires to be let alone. I have mentioned all these things in anticipation of the purely psychic aspect of the matter, because I hold the view that the factor of 'uncleanness,' which is again and again brought forward, is on the one hand much too obvious, and on the other hand, in comparison with all the other factors, so trifling that it cannot be sufficient to explain the complete disinclination for sexual relationship at this time – certainly not among really civilised people. And it is primarily of these and for these that I am writing. It is natural to avoid sexual intercourse of any sort with a menstruating woman; it is moreover easily intelligible that connection at this time may cause harm to

both the man and the woman. To the woman through the irritation of the genital organs, which are in any case not in their normal condition, and to the man through the entry of decomposed menstrual fluid, with all its bacteria, into the urethra, thus causing inflammation.[1]

We now come to the anthropological aspect of this question. The idea has prevailed amongst most peoples, and indeed still prevails, that a menstruating woman is to be regarded as unclean, and that coitus with her must have injurious consequences. Nay, more! The woman is even regarded as noxious during these days, and demoniacal propensities are attributed to her – and nothing affects primitive man more than ideas of poison or evil spirits. Again we notice the influence of religion; it was the priests who felt themselves called upon to prescribe laws against the menstruating woman. It was they who first designated the woman during this natural process as unclean, and what appeared to the priests to be unclean and noxious was for the people demoniacal. The explanation of this uncleanness of the woman during menstruation is primarily to be found in the fact that the religious exercises were invariably associated with objects which were sacred to the gods and with ceremonies which were designed to placate and flatter them. These ceremonies were regarded as pleasing to the gods only when carried out by human beings who were 'clean' in every respect. Just as it is only one step from faith to superstition, so in a short time what was unclean came to be regarded as noxious; what was noxious to be regarded as demoniacal.

The most ancient provisions respecting the uncleanness of a woman during menstruation are to be found in the Mosaic code, where there are quite a number of laws on the subject. (Leviticus xv. 19–24):

'19. And if a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days; and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even.

'20. And every thing that she lieth upon in her separation shall be unclean; every thing also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean.

'21. And whosoever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.

'22. And whosoever toucheth any thing that she sat upon shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.

'23. And if it be on her bed, or on any thing whereon she sitteth, when he toucheth it, he shall be unclean until the even.

[1] Editor's Note. While agreeing with the author, that copulation at this time is æsthetically repulsive to most people, I have been unable to find any evidence that it is in any way *harmful* to either the man or the woman.

'24. And if any man lie with her at all, and her flowers be upon him, he shall be unclean seven days; and all the bed whereon he lieth shall be unclean.'

We see from this quotation that not only the woman herself, but also everything that came in contact with her, was considered unclean. It is as though she carried within her a poison like leprosy. Just as the leper was obliged to spend his days remote from all his fellow-men, so we find here in the words 'put apart' almost the same thing demanded of the menstruating woman; that she should hold herself aloof from her fellows. We shall see that, according to the accounts of various travellers, a similar rigid isolation prevails among many races; as a matter of fact, the unfortunate women have in many cases to submit to a regime which is almost torture. All this because a perfectly natural function is regarded as noxious!

We must regard the rules found in the Koran as being closely related to those of the Mosaic code. These have been disseminated amongst all the Mohammedan peoples and have acquired a sacred value. In the Koran we find: 'Separate yourselves from the women at the time of their monthly cleansing and do not approach them until they are clean.' Here too we note isolation; here too all contact with a menstruating woman is forbidden. But the rules respecting isolation which are observed by peoples who have remained at the lower level of civilisation are much more stringent. Of all the peoples of antiquity, the Medes and Persians had the most rigorous laws. Among them, women were obliged at the beginning of the period to retire to a great distance from all inhabited places and had there to await, in isolation, the day of their 'healing.' They were not regarded as cleansed until various ceremonies of bathing prescribed in minute detail had been carried out. Then they again became members of society and were regarded as the equals of their fellows. This farce was repeated every month!

The teaching of Zoroaster, which still prevails in some parts of India, always insisted on the absolute cleanliness of all human beings; this went so far that even the daily bodily functions were surrounded by rigid rules. It is not surprising that, according to this religion, a woman during menstruation was regarded as absolutely unclean, and that the most precise procedure was laid down for dealing with this natural process. No less rigid are the rules which are to be found in the *Zend Avesta*. These we give in some detail, since they are somewhat more interesting. Menstruation was regarded as due to the instrumentality of evil spirits, the chief of which was the demon of unchastity. The woman is, therefore, during the time of menstrua-

tion, regarded as possessed by a devil, as having an evil influence on everything around her, as unclean, and as rendering unclean everything with which she comes in contact. At the beginning of menstruation the women are taken to a certain place which must be at a higher level than the huts of the village, so that not even her glance may be able to fall upon the hearth and render it unclean. This place, which all clean and pious people of either sex dared not approach nearer than three paces, was also remote from the sacred elements of fire and water, from all utensils used either for everyday life or for religious ceremonies. It was strewn with dust lest the plants or weeds should be rendered unclean by the woman while she was possessed of the devil. Not until the end of menstruation, which was regarded as lasting for nine days, was the woman permitted to leave this place of exile and, after being cleansed by bathing and freed from the evil spirits, again to associate with her fellows. Of course sexual intercourse of any sort was forbidden under the direst penalties.

Dubois in his *Mœurs de l'Inde* describes the formalities in connection with menstruation which are rigidly observed by the Hindus: 'As soon as a woman begins her period, she is removed to an isolated place, and for three days no one is allowed to have any contact with her. On the first day she is regarded as a pariah; on the second she is held to be unclean in the same degree as if she had killed a Brahmin; on the third day her condition is midway between those of the two preceding days. On the fourth she cleanses herself by means of washing in accordance with certain prescribed ceremonies. Until this has been done, she may neither bathe, nor wash any part of her body, nor shed tears. She must be careful not to kill any insect or any other living creature; she is forbidden to mount a horse, an ox, or an elephant; to ride in a carriage or palanquin; to anoint her head with oil; to play a game; to use perfumes such as musk; to lie on a bed; to sleep by day; to clean her teeth; or to rinse her mouth. She must not think of God, nor of the sun, nor of the sacrifices and ceremonies which are imposed upon her. She must not greet people of a higher rank. When several women who are having their period at the same time are together in a room, they must not exchange a word with one another, or touch one another. The woman in this condition must not approach her children; she is forbidden to touch them or to play with them. When she has passed three days in this manner she leaves the hut in which she has been shut up, and on the fourth day is handed over to the bathing women to be cleansed. She puts on a new shirt, over that a second shirt, and is then led to the river to take a bath.'

One more example of the customs prevailing among the so-called uncivilised peoples may be mentioned. J. A. Reimer describes in his

Mission Tour to Surinam the customs of the negroes of that district. The women are rigidly isolated from the other people during the period of menstruation, and must remain in a hut which is specially provided for the purpose until they are again considered 'clean.' They are regarded as so 'unclean' that they may infect their fellow-creatures by a mere glance. Thus they avoid meeting anyone on their way towards this secluded hut, and warn others from approaching near by calling out '*Mi Kay*,' '*Mi Kay*,' which means 'I am unclean.' Thus we note the same customs, the same views as we found in the Mosaic code; the same ceremonies as indeed with some variations, more or less important, are to be found among all primitive peoples.

Proceeding a step further we must mention a people who possess, I might almost say, an innate horror of uncleanliness of every description, and who still observe certain ancient traditional customs concerning menstruation, which seem to us almost rational. I refer to the customs prevailing to-day in China. These people possess an unsurpassed sense of cleanliness, whether they belong to the higher or to the lower classes. There the maid-servants would absolutely refuse, and would regard it as an incomprehensible presumption if one asked them, to wash a cloth soiled by the blood of a menstruating woman. Therefore, in China and Japan, the women, at the time of their menstrual period, substitute for the diaper which is used among us little balls of paper ingeniously kneaded which they insert into the vagina, and which they burn when soiled. This custom is similar to the employment of paper handkerchiefs which also are destroyed immediately after use, as the secretion of the nose is similarly regarded as unclean. The strength and normality of the menstruation is judged according to the number of paper pellets which are used in the course of a day.

It is extremely interesting that, according to historical records, the ancient Greeks and Romans also regarded menstruation as a sort of cleansing process, and accordingly regarded the discharged blood as unclean. Many statements are to be found according to which magical and healing properties were attributed to this unclean substance, from contact with which they ordinarily recoiled in horror. Pliny believed that various illnesses such as goitre, erysipelas, boils, epilepsy, and others, could be healed by smearing the affected part with the menstrual blood. Although we may be inclined to laugh at this view, there still exists even to-day in various places, and even in places inhabited by highly civilised peoples, a number of superstitious customs which exhibit belief in the healing powers and magic properties of the menstrual blood and the menstruating woman.

It is a fact which has been universally recognised among all

peoples and at all times that by the first menstruation, which is the only visible outward sign, the hitherto sexually immature girl changes into the mature woman. Strictly speaking this change is only a physical one, and the majority of girls, although they are already menstruating, remain still half-children in respect of knowledge and mental development. None the less, it is always assumed that the girl has become adult in every respect. It is characteristic of this view that among various peoples the onset of the first menstruation is attended with certain customs and festivities, which among uncivilised peoples assume a form that to us may appear to be as cruel as those which we have just described in connection with the isolation of the woman during the menstrual period. If we try to explain these customs psychologically, we come to the conclusion that the occurrence of the first menstrual flow was regarded as the attainment not only of sexual maturity but also of marriageable age. The first appearance of the blood was regarded as evidence of the fact that the girl was now in a position to bear children. This is more intelligible if we reflect that, as a rule, marriages among savage or partially civilised peoples were arranged, promised, or contracted in earliest infancy. Among many of the peoples of India, it is regarded as a matter of course that children should be affianced as early as their sixth, seventh, or eighth year, and that the girl who has been affianced at such an early age marries or should marry at the onset of the first menstrual period. These festivities have also, no doubt, a second purpose. They wish to endow the maiden, hitherto insignificant, with those attributes which outwardly and visibly stamp her as a complete woman. Here I am thinking chiefly of the various sorts of tattooing and incisions in the skin, which are distributed in certain parts of the body and may be deep or superficial, numerous or few – marks of beauty without which a woman would not be a woman in the truest sense of the word.

Among some tribes of Australian aborigines, a young girl has scarcely recovered from the pains of the first menstruation when she has to kneel in front of an old woman of the tribe and place her head between the latter's legs. The operator now takes a shell or stone with a sharpened edge and makes rows of long, deep incisions over the whole of the back up as high as the shoulders. The groans of the victim are received by the circle of bystanders with loud yells of delight, and there is no girl who does not undergo this torture willingly, for a seared back is regarded as the highest adornment of woman. In comparison with this procedure, the tattooing of elaborate designs on the face, breasts, back, and abdomen, by piercing the skin with a needle and rubbing in a red or black colouring matter, seems quite

mild. Not so, however, another practice which is also found among some of the Australian aboriginal tribes under the name of *Tschirrintschirri*, which is extremely cruel and consists in forcibly knocking out two of the front teeth of the girl or boy as an outward sign of the attainment of maturity. This is done with great festivities. Two staves of wood sharpened in the form of a wedge are driven in, one on each side of a tooth, by means of a stone; the tooth itself is then covered with a piece of animal skin and, by means of another stick about a yard long used as a lever, is struck with a still heavier stone. One or two blows are enough as a rule to knock out the tooth. The second tooth soon follows. Curiously enough, scarcely a twitch of the face betrays the undoubtedly intense pain which the children feel, and there is not one who would attempt to escape from this cosmetic operation!

It is almost a general rule that these and similar ceremonies, of which we can find a great number in various ethnographical works, are followed by the celebration of marriage.

We must now return to the purely medical part of our subject. The time of the first onset of menstruation varies extraordinarily amongst different peoples. This variation appears to be chiefly dependent upon three factors: climatic conditions, racial peculiarities, and the conditions of life under which the girl has lived during the years of development. Carefully compiled statistics have proved conclusively that climate and the time of the first menstruation are directly related to one another. A hot equatorial climate brings about an early onset of menstruation, and the further north we go the later is the period of maturity. While the eighth or tenth year is the average age in the East and among the peoples of Africa and Asia, the sixteenth or the seventeenth year is the lowest limit for the Greenlanders. A comparison between the various nations shows that Slav women menstruate earlier than do women of Teutonic stock. We pass somewhat cursorily over these two factors which are certainly quite interesting, because we wish to deal at somewhat greater length with the third factor which influences the date of the commencement of menstruation, namely the external conditions which surround the girl. Poverty is of first importance in this respect, since it bears upon hygiene as well as nourishment. We note that anæmic, sickly, ill-nourished girls have their first period earlier than those of well-to-do parents. We note further that there is a difference between those living in towns and those living in the country. Girls who have been born in cities or live in cities become mature earlier than those living in the country. It is, of course, only to be expected that a girl who has worked from early youth in a factory, faces the first period at a great

disadvantage as compared with the well-cared-for daughter of the upper classes. Hard work would in this case be just as important a factor as nourishment; indeed the latter has very little effect on anæmia and similar ailments. The ailments of the girl during the years of development are most important for the further health and well-being of the woman throughout the whole of her life.

The duration of the period varies between three and six days. In the majority of women and girls its onset is announced by various symptoms, which are clearly recognised by each individual. They may sometimes consist merely of a feeling of general physical discomfort, or may increase to very severe cramp-like pains in the lower abdomen; on the other hand there is sometimes merely a feeling of extreme tension in the breasts. Shortly after the onset of these pains the first signs of blood appear. The flow is at first quite scanty, brownish-red in colour and is mixed with a good deal of mucus. Not until the second or third day, as a rule, does pure blood flow. This blood is essentially different from the blood which flows from a wound. It is very much thinner and has the peculiarity of not being coagulable – that is, it does not form clots. This peculiarity is so characteristic that it is only in a pathological case (for example, when there is some malady in the ovaries or uterus) that clots are to be seen in the menses, and in such an event one must always diagnose a pathological condition of the genital organs. Such clots, however, must be very clearly distinguished from those little filaments which are discharged from the mucous membrane of the uterus mixed with the menstrual blood. On the fourth day the volume of the blood becomes very small, and the brownish-red colour inclines more and more to a yellowish shade. On the fifth day there are only a few drops or it may cease altogether. The process is repeated at *regular* intervals, and it is this regularity on the one hand and the constitution of the blood on the other which are characteristic of menstruation. I cannot emphasise this fact too strongly, for gynæcologists find again and again that every hæmorrhage from the genital organs is invariably regarded by women as menstruation; even though clots as large as the fist are discharged, or the hæmorrhage lasts twelve or fourteen days. This is a very serious error. Such hæmorrhages must cease to be regarded as 'prolonged' or 'irregular' periods. They are symptoms of some sort of disease of the female genital organs and should prove to the woman herself that a pathological condition exists.

It is well known that the mental life of woman is subject to various disturbances during the menstrual period. These will be duly discussed in that part of our book which deals with her psychic life.

From the time of the first period onwards, a continuous transforma-

tion goes on in the young girl, which brings her gradually to complete maturity. It is true that in the strictly scientific sense maturity has been attained by the onset of the first menstruation, but we should none the less avoid the error of primitive peoples in regarding a girl *who has had her first period as fully mature in every respect. The development of the external genital organs and other sexual characters*, the widening of the pelvis, the growth of pubic hair and of the breasts, the increasing roundness of the body, suppleness in motion and repose, all these unite gradually to form the composite picture which is well known as the charm (*Grazie*) of the adolescent girl. The flapper passes slowly into the stage of the fully matured girl, the young woman. This transformation appears to be intended by Nature for no other purpose than to prepare the female, slowly but surely, for her future calling as mother and wife. The physical transformation lags behind these changes in thought and feeling, which from now on characterise the growing girl. No matter how veiled these may be, and no matter how deeply they are repressed, they all converge towards the same focus – the child!

CHAPTER V

THE MATURE WOMAN

THE term *'mature woman' is used in this chapter to indicate the period between the beginning of marriage (that is, the beginning* of sexual intercourse) with its normal consequences – conception, pregnancy, confinement, lying-in – and the beginning of motherhood. Before marriage the woman is, in physical respects, a fully developed girl, but it is not until the beginning of normal intercourse that certain anatomical changes take place, which have already been mentioned, but must now be described in more detail.

As already noted, the vagina of the virgin is closed, or rather narrowed, from without by a crescentic fold of mucous membrane with a small aperture through which the vaginal and menstrual discharges pass away. It is a mistake to think that this membrane is as thin as paper or (to go to the other extreme) that it is a tough skin like a piece of parchment. No rule can be laid down as to the strength, thickness, suppleness, or elasticity of this fold of membrane. These qualities are quite individual and have no relation to the form, general nature, and strength, of the rest of the body. We may find this membrane strongly developed in delicate women or weakly developed in the coarsest women. The strength and thickness and the size and shape of the aperture vary from individual to individual. The aperture may be only big enough to admit a quill, or it may be so large that, even in the case of an undoubted virgin, the finger may be inserted without any difficulty. It may be regularly semi-circular or crescentic in shape; and indeed we know of numerous cases where a bridge of membrane passes diagonally across the aperture, so that, viewed from without, the opening appears to be divided into two parts. Thus we see how complex is the connotation of the words maidenhead and virginity, which are used so glibly. Virginity is much too highly valued. For, from the anatomical standpoint, it is possible for the aperture of the hymen to be naturally so wide that, even after thorough investigation, it cannot be proved whether coitus has taken place or not. And yet the presence of the hymen is regarded as the one and only sign of virginity! Again, what becomes of this particular idea of virginity when the fold of membrane is so soft and pliable that it can be extended at will, so elastic that it will return again to its normal form?

The excessive value attached to this anatomical structure is due to the fact that, as a rule, on the occasion of the first coitus, a *sudden* forcible stretching of the membrane takes place as a result of the penetration of the male organ into the vagina. It is usually ruptured by many radiating rents as a result of which more or less hæmorrhage

takes place. The fissures, like all wounds in mucous membrane, heal in a very short time, and the maidenhead is now easily stretched. The scars which develop from these ruptures form several small knobby protuberances of mucous membrane surrounding the entrance to the vagina (*carunculæ myrtiformes*). These remain throughout the whole life of the woman, and are the only medically indisputable proof of a completed defloration.

The hæmorrhages which occur when the hymen is ruptured are rarely excessive, but occasionally surgical measures are necessary to arrest the bleeding. In striking contrast to this, in some cases the membrane is so tough that it resists all efforts at normal defloration and must be cut or stretched by surgical means.

Defloration is the only unmistakable sign that a woman is fully developed, fully mature, and has fulfilled her destiny. It stamps her as a wife and potential mother. This of course only applies where the first sexual intercourse has taken place in wedlock. For we all know only too well that in the cases of extra-marital intercourse, nothing is further from being desired and intended than the natural consequences – a child. But of this later. Sexual intercourse is normally followed by fertilisation. We have already described the union of the two germ-cells, and the pregnancy which follows from this brings about a revolution in the woman's body, even though the external signs are not immediately apparent.

We have already mentioned that after every discharge of a mature and potentially fertile ovum from the ovary, changes take place in the mucous membrane of the uterus, which are brought about indirectly through the corpus luteum. The purpose of these changes is to prepare a favourable bed (nidus) for the fertilised ovum. The mucous membrane becomes spongy and congested and thus furnishes that contact between ovum and uterus which will offer the most favourable conditions for the development of the embryo. It is necessary that the fertilised ovum, when it enters the uterus, should find the most favourable conditions awaiting it. We saw that the fertilisation of the ovum can take place at any point on the path of the migration of the ovum through the oviduct into the uterus. We have also mentioned that, in the event of non-fertilisation, this ovum is discharged during menstruation together with the cast-off mucous membrane of the uterus.

How are all these matters affected by conception? The ovum has been fertilised and, under normal circumstances, reaches the end of its journey in the uterus; in most cases it is already fertilised before it reaches the uterus, since the sperms in their quest for the ovum penetrate into the oviducts, and it is in these, usually, that the actual union

of the cells takes place. The spongy membrane of the uterus now takes up the ovum quite readily, and immediately begins a vigorous growth at the spot where it is embedded – the so-called *discus proligerus*. There is a growth of shaggy (villous) structures which very quickly penetrate the wall of the uterus itself, there meet numerous blood-vessels, penetrate these, and finally come to lie in the blood of the mother which is flowing through them. In this way does the circulation of blood between the mother and the embryo begin – at a time when the latter is only in its first stages. Meanwhile, the ovum has entrenched itself firmly in the *discus proligerus*, and on its side has produced a sort of villous tissue which comes into intimate relation with the communicating parts of the mother's blood-vascular system. Gradually the ovum grows larger, nourished entirely by the blood of the mother, which it absorbs by means of the villous structures just mentioned – the *chorionic villi*. While this growth of the young organism is going on, there takes place a softening of the whole of the muscular tissue of the uterus, which as we have already seen forms the whole of the uterine wall. By the end of four or five weeks the hitherto hard resistant body of the uterus is soft and doughy. This softness is, for the doctor, one of the most important early symptoms of pregnancy – which the woman may fear or suspect only on account of the cessation of menstruation. That menstruation usually ceases during pregnancy is explained by the fact that in a pregnant woman no new ovulation takes place, no new corpus luteum is formed, and consequently the stimulus for the production and discharge of hypertrophied mucous membrane is lacking.

So far the changes in the female organism have been exclusively internal, but now they are followed by external signs. As already stated, there is an internal connection between the specific sexual organs of the female and the breast glands. This connection naturally develops further during pregnancy. The breasts become harder, so that the woman herself becomes conscious of the tension. In the fourth to sixth week of pregnancy the separate groups of glands, which together make up the breast, begin to increase in size and to prepare themselves for the function of suckling. Already a sufficiently powerful pressure of the breast glands will produce a drop or two of pale yellow fluid from the nipple. These are the first drops of the mother's milk, which increases rapidly and becomes copious after the birth of the child.

Before we proceed to describe the great external changes which take place in the body, we must mention an occurrence which fortunately is extremely rare. If the migration of the fertilised ovum into the uterus is interrupted – usually as the consequence of a patho-

logical narrowing of the passage of the oviduct – it may happen that the fertilised ovum embeds itself in the tube and begins to develop there. This event may have very serious consequences for the woman. The growing ovum stretches the walls of the oviduct and the blood-vessels with which the latter is richly supplied, until they finally rupture and an internal hæmorrhage takes place. This is the usual course of an extra-uterine (*ectopic*) pregnancy.

Slowly but surely from day to day, changes, now easily perceptible, take place, due to the growth of the embryo and of the uterus itself. Early in the pregnancy the chorionic villi grew out of the ovum – which was then about the size of a pinhead. Having buried themselves in the wall of the uterus, they rapidly grow thicker at the place of implantation, increase in number, and, after a few weeks, form the rudiment of a loose spongy structure, pierced with millions of blood-vessels, which increases rapidly in superficial area and soon comes to fill the greater part of the uterus with its broad under-surface. It is called the placenta, and forms the nutrient medium for the embryo. In the middle of this ***placenta***, on the side turned towards the cavity of the uterus, is the pedicle connecting it with the child – the ***umbilical cord*** or ***navel cord***, a rope-like, tapering, twisted cord, which carries three well-developed blood-vessels to enter the child's body at the ***umbilicus*** or ***navel***. The placenta and the umbilical cord are the organs uniting the mother with the *fœtus* (embryo). Through them streams the blood of the mother, carrying nutritive substances and oxygen, to be absorbed by the fœtus through the chorionic villi. This blood *alone* affects the structure, growth, and nutrition of the new organism. I emphasise this in order to dispose of a common error. Again and again pregnant women are afraid to eat according to their appetite, believing that as a result of a too-plentiful supply of nutriment the fœtus will grow too rapidly – 'that the child will become too big.' But it is not the food of the mother which builds up the body of the embryo but only her blood. This has the same constitution whether the mother eats little or much.[1]

The edges of the placenta gradually thin off and merge into a skin enclosing the embryo and forms the so-called *fœtal* ***membranes*** or caul. Through the secretion of a fluid which is known as the 'waters' (*liquor amnii*) and which increases particularly rapidly at the beginning of the third month of pregnancy, the uterus is gradually filled with a bladder of fluid in which the fœtus is swimming. The latter is intimately connected by the umbilical cord with the placenta which provides it with nourishment.

[1] Editor's Note. This is not strictly true. The mother's diet may affect the child either for good or ill.

All these changes stretch the uterus more and more. Until the second month, it has remained in the true pelvis, but later it gradually grows upwards and soon becomes visible and palpable through the abdominal wall. The length of the uterine cavity, which before pregnancy was about 7 centimetres,[1] by the end of the second month has reached 10 or 11 centimetres[2] – an increase which is easily intelligible, when we remember that the fœtus itself at the end of the second month is about 4 cm. in length. During the third month the liquor amnii increases rapidly, and the fœtus develops to a length of 9 cm.,[3] so that the woman herself is now conscious of the pregnant uterus growing upwards in her abdomen and increasing in size. In the fourth month it causes the lower part of the abdomen to protrude so much that it can only with difficulty be hidden. Although it sounds ridiculous, most women try very hard to conceal the condition of pregnancy from their fellows as long as possible, as if it were something to be ashamed of!

We must interrupt this description of the enlargement of the body, in order to refer to another sign, also of a purely physical nature, which develops characteristically during the first months of pregnancy. The external genital organs of the woman, like the uterus, become congested, swell and, owing to interference with the venous circulation, assume the colour which is characteristic of congested organs. They appear swollen, tense, and blueish in colour. This symptom, which, like the softening of the uterus, is due to changes in the circulation of the blood, is also a valuable sign of pregnancy.

In addition to this, other disturbances take place during the first three months in the organism as a whole. They range from a slight distaste for some foods and a desire for others, to uncontrollable vomiting which may even bring about a miscarriage. Although these symptoms are primarily of nervous origin, science recognises a purely physical cause as well. The maternal blood is carried to the fœtus, mixes with the blood of the child, and then returns to the mother by the vessels in the umbilical cord. But this only after the abstraction of oxygen and other substances which the fœtus needs for its development. The blood which flows back to the mother contains certain excretory products of the fœtus, which may act as toxins. These embryonic toxins have an adverse influence on the physical condition of the woman and continue to do so until she has acquired a tolerance for them. It would also appear to be these toxins which, later in pregnancy, produce brownish-yellow pigmentation, especially on the face and abdomen.

[1] i.e. between 2 and 3 inches. [2] 4 or 4½ inches.
[3] i.e. nearly 4 inches.

All these disturbing symptoms have rendered the woman unhappy, 'upset,' and ill during the first weeks of pregnancy. She has noted with anguish the continuous enlargement of her abdomen, through which the uterus may be seen rising nearly to the navel. But all this physical and mental suffering is forgotten at the moment when the mother feels the first movements of the developing child. This is called the 'quickening,' and occurs about 4½ months after the beginning of the pregnancy. These first fœtal movements are due to the embryo stretching itself so that it presses against the inside wall of the uterus with its little limbs. Quickening, together with the regular enlargement of the uterus, constitutes the first absolutely indisputable sign of pregnancy. This sign is soon confirmed by a second manifestation of actual life; it is possible to hear the gentle heart-beats of the developing child through the abdominal wall. It is generally believed that these symptoms, especially the first fœtal movements, occur just at the middle of the pregnancy. In the majority of cases it may so chance that we are in a position to guess the day of birth. But still it can only be a matter of guessing, for we can never, except in those cases where there has only been one act of sexual intercourse, know the exact day of conception. But in my opinion there is another reason why it is impossible to forecast the exact day of birth. One usually reckons from the last menstruation, and this date must be wrong, for, as we have already seen, the *unfertilised* ovum is discharged with the menstrual flow, and therefore it can only be the ovum of the *next* ovulation which has been fertilised. Exactly when this happened we cannot say with any certainty, for we do not know when and where the sperms, which under favourable circumstances are capable of remaining alive for many days, came into contact with the ovum. There is, none the less, a general tendency even among gynæcologists to believe that it is possible to calculate the duration of the pregnancy in accordance with some scheme. Nægele reckons the average length of pregnancy as 280 days: counting back three months from the first day of the last menstruation, then adding seven days, and expecting birth twelve months ahead exactly. The date which is obtained in this way is said to give the earliest limit for the end of pregnancy; but whether this calculation really works out is always a matter of mere chance and nothing more.

With the beginning of the sixth month, changes in the shape and size of the lower abdomen have already gone so far that it is no longer possible, by the use of artificial means such as corsets and binders, to conceal the condition of the woman, even from the inexperienced eye. The rapidly growing uterus has now reached as high as the navel but it still goes on increasing until at the end of the eighth month its upper

pole has reached a point midway between the navel and the lower end of the sternum; and towards the end of the ninth month has reached the sternum itself. Then a remarkable phenomenon occurs, which can be felt by the woman herself. The uterus begins to sink again. This is due to the great weight of the child which has gone through its whole development and reached full maturity. We have so far discussed only the increase in the length of the embryo. But of course this is accompanied by an increase in diameter which is shown in the enlargement of the woman's abdomen. This pronounced stretching of the covering of the abdomen causes the hollow of the navel, which is present in a non-pregnant woman, to stretch out gradually and finally disappear entirely.

The changes in the abdomen just described are those which are most apparent externally. But there are a number of other changes all aiming at preparing the body gradually for its future duties of birth and motherhood. An increasing development of the mammary glands (breasts) causes them during the second half of pregnancy to assume the form of two firm hemispheres, rich in glands, in the centre of which the nipple stands out from the brownish-black areola. This discoloration is due to a deposit of pigment, that colouring matter which is present in all human skin and gives the skin or complexion of an individual its specific tint. As we have already mentioned, pregnancy causes a very great increase of this pigment, especially in certain parts of the skin. Thus in addition to the brownish-black nipples, we may find the skin in other parts of the body showing yellow or brown discoloration. This is especially common in the face.

Another series of changes take place in the sex organs. The musculature of the uterine wall increases enormously, especially during the second half of pregnancy. This hypertrophy of the muscular apparatus is apparently designed by Nature for use during parturition. It is as though an invisible power were continuously at work preparing the body of the pregnant woman for birth, so that it may function not only adequately, but as well as possible. This is also manifested in other organs. The birth passages, i.e. the vagina and labia minora, are richly supplied with blood, become softer, more supple and elastic and, in addition, produce a copious fluid secretion. This latter, during the last weeks, becomes a veritable discharge, and is frequently thought by the laity to be pathological; but it is a perfectly natural process and has a definite purpose, that of lubricating the narrow vagina during parturition.

At the beginning of this description of pregnancy, we termed this most natural of all processes of Nature a 'revolution' in the female

body. This expression was not chosen capriciously but with deliberate intention. For the many transformations so far mentioned are not the only ones; the whole body, and with it naturally the whole mind, of the woman is so influenced by the developing life in the uterus that the term 'revolution' is perhaps too mild. So far as the body is concerned there is scarcely a single organ or function which is not affected sympathetically. The blood pressure, the constituents of the blood itself, the frequency and quality of the pulse, are modified, as well as other functions now to be described.

On account of the vigorous growth of the uterus during the second half of pregnancy, it presses upwards and outwards from its normal position in the pelvic cavity. The bowels are subjected to pressure and displaced, and their peristaltic action, which, under normal conditions, regulates the digestion and assimilation of food, is seriously impaired. As a result there follows almost invariably not only that constipation which is characteristic of pregnancy, but also a more or less perceptible change in the stomach and its functions. Whereas, in a normal human being, the stomach has a direction oblique to the longitudinal axis of the body, in the course of pregnancy it is compressed into a horizontal position. This, especially in the eighth or ninth month, causes heartburn, lack of appetite, etc. The upward pressure of the uterus is transmitted through the diaphragm, which separates the abdomen from the thorax, and constricts the lower part of the lungs, and so causes shortness of breath. Such pressure, by narrowing the volume of the cavity of the chest, may interfere with the action of the heart. The heart, the indefatigable blood pump, now has to provide for the circulation of blood in both parent and child, and shows signs of fatigue. Disturbances in circulation are normal phenomena of pregnancy; sometimes they are only subjective but they may produce external signs. In nine cases out of ten the results are visible; in some women merely by the presence of blueish translucent veins in the abdomen and legs, in others by the appearance of more or less varicose veins in the feet, legs, and thighs. Under some circumstances varicose veins in the leg or thigh may develop apart from pregnancy. It happens frequently that, on account of these enlarged blood-vessels, the circulation is retarded and the heart, worn out by the excessive strain, weakens and fails to come up to the demands made upon it. Another very common symptom is swelling of the legs. This is also a sign of disturbed circulation, and must without doubt be attributed to the fact that the veins from the legs have to pass through the pelvis and abdomen, and are there pressed upon by the pregnant uterus. It is not yet known whether certain changes in the kidneys are merely a result of the disturbance of circulation,

or whether they are caused by various toxic substances which are formed automatically during pregnancy. These changes lead to more or less severe inflammation of the kidneys, and are so characteristic that one speaks of 'the pregnancy kidney.'

In conclusion let us mention a few more changes in the woman's appearance. The majority of women are deeply concerned by the distortion of their body, and await the end of pregnancy impatiently because they long to 'become normal once more,' but they are still more disturbed by those bluish-red stripes – *striæ gravidarum* – which appear during pregnancy, especially on the lower part of the abdominal wall. Thence they usually spread to the groin and the front surface of the thighs. They are due to small inner rents caused by rapid stretching of the lower layers of the skin, the outer skin having remained intact. These striæ in most cases do not make their appearance till the second half of the pregnancy, and fade soon after the confinement to a greyish-white colour, but the scars remain visible throughout the woman's life. It is only natural that women, and even medical men, of all times have tried to remove these blemishes; but until now unfortunately their efforts have been in vain.

Towards the end of the pregnancy the woman's agility is much decreased, by an increase in weight of about 5,000 gms,[1] of which about two-thirds are to be attributed to the child's body and about one-third to the placenta, the waters, and the actual increase in the weight of the woman herself. The balance of the woman's body is also affected both when standing and walking, so that she is involuntarily compelled to adopt a change in her carriage. Since the uterus not only grows upwards but also presses the body forwards, the centre of gravity is displaced towards the front, so that the woman is obliged to bend the upper part of her body backwards in order to compensate for the change. As a result we find that on the one hand the back is extremely hollowed, and on the other hand both in walking and in standing she tends to spread her legs further apart.

Even more important than the physical changes so far mentioned are the changes in the nervous system. They influence the whole psychology of the woman and will be treated in greater detail in Book II.

It is natural that a process which brings about such fundamental changes in the body and mind of a woman should have called forth among various peoples a great number of customs and superstitious ideas. In extreme cases the pregnant woman is sometimes regarded as sacred, or sometimes as an inferior member of society, unfit to associate with her fellows. In ethnology we find abundant evidence of the

[1] i.e. about 11 lbs.

wild fantasies prevailing in connection with pregnancy. The cessation of menstruation and the gradual enlargement of the abdomen were not sufficient for the diagnosis of pregnancy. It was also claimed that pregnancy could be discovered from the woman's blood, pulse, expression, mood, and even from the behaviour of various objects in her environment. In the Royal Museum in Berlin there is a papyrus which probably dates from the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty (about 3000 years B.C.) in which, together with numerous medical observations, we find a description of the most diverse indications from which the Egyptians considered it was possible to diagnose pregnancy. Most of them are concerned with the condition of the alimentary canal. Here is one of the most curious of them, which we take from Brugsch's translation: 'Two bags, of which one is filled with wheat, and the other with barley, are soaked for one day in the urine of the woman. If either of these cereals germinate, pregnancy is indicated; if not, she is not pregnant. If only the wheat sprouts, the child will be a boy; if only the barley, then the child will be a girl.'

Much more accurate and in accordance with really advanced medical knowledge are the views of the Talmudists. They refer without exception to physical changes; for example, the growth of the breasts, and the increase in size of the abdomen. They also believed that indications of pregnancy could be found in the shape of the footprints left by a pregnant woman in the sand. Although this idea appears, at first glance, to be rather naïve, it is possibly sound. We have already mentioned that there is a change in the balance of the body and in the gait of the pregnant woman, and this would possibly explain the observation.

The Chinese and Japanese are very much further advanced in civilisation and in medical science. Accordingly, the symptoms for the recognition of pregnancy found in their works refer exclusively to changes in the body, which were carefully observed and accurately described. So accurately indeed, that it may be said that they are in no sense inadequate even from the point of view of modern medical science. It is true that here and there we find a rather naïve explanation of some symptoms, but in view of the general correctness of the observations such an error is comparatively trifling. There is not the slightest trace of superstition, or interpretation by accidental or remote factors. How remarkable this is can be shown by contrasting a belief prevalent among the Serbs. According to Petrowitsch, these people regard a sty in the eye as the surest indication of pregnancy! Not necessarily a sty in the eye of the pregnant woman herself; if *anyone*, man or woman, has a sty, it means that – an aunt is pregnant!

If the sty is on the lower lid the child will be a girl; if it is on the upper lid, it will be a boy! Comment is superfluous.

The position which is accorded to a pregnant woman has always depended on the level of civilisation of the race. Whereas we may find, especially among uncivilised peoples, that pregnancy attracts little or no attention, among some few races the pregnant woman is regarded as especially favoured of God The blessing of children does not come through human agency. (We presume that the description of the pregnant woman as 'in a blessed condition' is to be referred to this fact.)[1]

Thus we have the most striking contrasts; in some cases the protection love and veneration of her fellows are accorded to the pregnant woman; in other cases a complete lack of any consideration and protection whatever. Indians, Eskimos, and the white races all agree in one respect: the pregnant woman enjoys an exceptional position in respect of the criminal law. It was only the cruel witch-trials of the Middle Ages which made no exceptional provisions in the case of pregnancy. Among the peoples whose civilisation is less advanced this exceptional position is frequently due to the idea that the pregnant woman is possessed of a demon, and on that account must be regarded as *taboo* ('unclean'). In various tribes, as among the Kaffirs and the Ashanti peoples, she is avoided by her husband and near relatives, and in some cases eight months must elapse after birth before the husband is allowed to approach the woman whom he has made pregnant. This custom goes even further among some tribes of Indians: in Florida the men carefully hold themselves aloof from the woman until two years after the birth of the child.

Among other races there were, and still are, customs in accordance with which certain ceremonies are carried out for the purpose of spiritually and physically cleansing the unclean woman, who is possessed of a demon. We are told that, among the negroes of the north coast (of Africa), the negress who is pregnant for the first time is driven with the grossest insults into the sea, and is pelted by the men of the tribe with dirt and dung. Not until she has been immersed in the water several times is she exorcised by the priests with carefully prescribed ceremonies, and again regarded as 'clean.' Again we notice a connection between natural physical processes and religion; an artificial connection which has been deliberately elaborated and must have reacted gradually on the attitude towards the woman during this period.

[1] Translators' Note. In German a woman is said to be 'in a blessed condition' (*unter gesegneten Umständen*) where we would say in English 'in a certain condition.' Similarly children are referred to as 'Kindersegen'.

The widely prevalent custom of carrying certain amulets and avoiding certain quite harmless accidents of everyday life, is another witness to the *naïveté* of thought. Strangely enough, there is scarcely a single nation or people, either past or present, whose women do not willingly subscribe to such superstitions, either from fear that some god or evil spirit may be offended, or in the hope that the observance of certain rules may ensure an easy birth. Thus in ancient Greece there was a custom which every pregnant woman there still observes at the present day. Near Athens there is a certain rock down which pregnant women slide, in the belief that thereby an easy birth will be assured. The surface of the rock has been rendered quite smooth by many centuries of this practice. Similarly there is to-day in Falkenstein (Upper Austria), near one of the chapels dedicated to St. Wolfgang, a stone with a hole in it. The pregnant women of the neighbourhood crawl through this hole, believing that by this means the pangs of labour will be made easier.

We have already discussed the subject of 'Maternal Impressions' (*Versehen*). It is interesting that every people has its own rules and customs respecting this superstition, rules which forbid certain actions to the pregnant woman in order to protect the coming child from deformity or some other injury. The greatest variety of such rules is to be found amongst the Serbs. According to Petrowitsch, Serbian expectant women must not kiss the crucifix lest the child should suffer from epilepsy; they must not step over a hay-fork or eat pork, otherwise the child would squint; they must not step in the blood of a slaughtered pig lest the child should have a 'strawberry mark' (*nævus*); they must not eat fish lest the child should be very late in learning to speak. The pregnant woman must also refrain from kissing a strange child, as otherwise her own child will be born late; she must take care that nobody makes a cut on the doorpost of the house lest the child should have a hare-lip. If a woman has a tooth extracted during pregnancy the child is bound to die as soon as it is born.

How about superstitions among us civilised people? Are not pregnant women among us even to-day ready to listen to 'grandmothers' tales?' Do they not still believe that the sight of blood or fire may have lasting effects on the physical constitution of their children? It would be hopeless to attempt to combat this mass of superstition; as soon as one is disposed of, another springs up. It must be admitted that the mind of a pregnant woman is easily affected by any disturbance, such as a serious shock, and that the result of such a shock is not seldom a premature birth. But this is a purely physical event. For the rest, a pregnant woman should be taught to realise that pregnancy

is not an illness, but the most natural of all the processes of Nature; that no demon, no evil spirit, but man in the likeness of God it is, who creates another human being. Thus God is responsible for this (in the truest sense of the word) 'blessed' condition.[1]

[1] See note on p. 91.

CHAPTER VI

BIRTH: MOTHER AND CHILD

'HER hour has come!' Again and again one hears the onset of labour described in these words. How happy women would be, if it were only a question of a single hour, no matter how difficult that hour. The process of birth is perhaps justly feared as the most complicated and painful of all the processes of Nature. I say 'perhaps' and in doing so am thinking of the relative infrequency of the many possible complications. We know that, in general, of 100 births approximately 95 are normal – normal in the sense that no unusual danger to the life of the mother or child arises. None the less, the pregnant woman dreads this difficult hour, though she longs to be freed at last from all the discomforts of pregnancy, to be able to hold in her arms, and kiss and fondle, the little being that is now stirring so actively within her. Thus we have a conflict between longing and dread. This anxiety is natural at the first confinement, for one always fears the unknown, but we can neither understand not sympathise with such fear in later confinements. It is not death that is feared, but rather pain.

We must now describe the whole process of parturition from the purely physical standpoint. At birth, the child, propelled by internal forces, emerges from the mother's body, in which it has up to now been protected, and begins to lead an independent existence. Independent, however, only in so far as breathing and the action of the heart are concerned; for in all other respects, especially that of nourishment, the child remains still absolutely dependent on the body of the mother. That is, of course, presuming that the child is fed, as it should be, at the mother's breast. The separation of the child from the mother's body by means of birth does not happen suddenly. It *cannot* take place suddenly! It proceeds slowly, inch by inch – a difficult task for both mother and child. For the mother, because she has to concentrate all her energies in order to bring the child into the world; for the child, because it has to overcome many obstacles in its path.

From the earliest times attempts have been made to explain why the child is born exactly nine months or 280 days from the day of fertilisation. There have been many theories in which all possible and impossible factors have been adduced. One of the most naïve of these was that of Hippocrates, who thought that the child suddenly stretched itself, thrust its foot against the upper wall of the uterus and thereby caused the beginning of labour. Although this theory testifies to a certain gift of imagination, it surely could not have

escaped the notice of so keen an observer as Hippocrates that sometimes it is not the head of the child which is born first, but the lower pole, when the position in the uterus is the reverse of the normal. What becomes of the theory of the pushing of the little leg against the upper part of the uterus in this case!

Labour. What do we understand by this word and how does this, the first of all the phenomena of birth, make itself manifest? The walls of the uterus, as already mentioned, consist of thick muscular tissue and this increases considerably during pregnancy. When we push against a heavy weight, the muscles of the arms contract spasmodically and become hard; the individual muscle-fibres become shorter and thicker, and separate from each other. Similarly, at the beginning of labour we observe a tension, a contraction of the whole uterine muscle, and a shortening and hardening of each individual muscle-fibre. It is in this way that what we call labour comes about. Although this comparison with the muscles of the arm suffices to illustrate the general picture, there is a very great difference, for, while the contraction of the arm-muscles is voluntary, that of the uterine muscle is not under the control of the will, but due entirely to internal stimuli. It is fortunate for humanity that the activity of the uterine muscle *is* involuntary, for otherwise every woman after several hours of labour would certainly desire to stop a function which is attended with so much pain, and the result would be that the birth would never run its course without a hitch. Do we not all try to avoid pain? Then why should the woman in labour be an exception? All-seeing Nature seems here, as in so many other cases, to have been provident.

But let us return to the labour itself. Occasionally during the last six or eight weeks of pregnancy the woman feels a hardening and protrusion of the abdomen, which lasts only a few moments and is unaccompanied by pain. These very slight contractions of the uterine muscle, before the beginning of labour proper, are called in popular language 'false labour pains.' They become stronger and more frequent at the beginning of true labour. For it is only through the real labour pains that the uterus is able to diminish its own internal volume, and thus bring about the expulsion of its contents in the direction in which there is least resistance to be overcome. This direction is through the os uteri and vagina to the outside world. How do the labour pains – these contractions of the uterine muscle – come about, and why do they occur only at the end of pregnancy? It cannot be a matter of chance. It is certain that the beginning of labour must be initiated at the same time and at the same point by both mother and child. Some scientists believe that they have found

a solution in the theory that the child, having arrived at full development, is suddenly filled with a longing to use its lungs, which until now have not functioned, for while it is in the uterus the child does not need to breathe. It has, up to now, been supplied with the necessary oxygen by the mother's blood, has attained full maturity, and now feels, or its blood feels, a lack of oxygen. It is suggested that it is this deficiency of oxygen in the blood which causes the contraction of the uterine muscle. Another theory is that in the region of the *os uteri* are to be found a great number of nerve cells, and the gradual sinking of the embryo stimulates these nerves, and this nervous impulse either directly or indirectly by way of the mother's central nervous system, induces the first labour pains, which then automatically bring on the other pains in their train. I shall mention only one more theory – that which is most generally accepted by medical science to-day. According to this theory, the toxins produced by the child increase considerably toward the end of pregnancy and cause an irritation to the smooth or unstriped uterine muscle.[1] In this way labour is induced. It seems that once the initial pains occur regularly, they themselves induce the subsequent pains – one labour pain gives rise to the next succeeding pain.

The so-called 'false labour pains' mentioned previously are only felt by the woman as a hardening and protrusion of the abdomen. They are not by any means real labour pains, since they lack the principal symptom, the feeling of pain. During the last weeks of pregnancy, the woman has accustomed herself to these false labour pains, and so does not immediately realise the significance of the onset of slight bearing-down pains which radiate downwards and forwards from the lower part of the back, and are usually interpreted as a slight stomach-ache connected with disturbances in the digestive tract. But soon, very soon, the woman learns better. She suspects and finally realises that the longed-for but dreaded hour is at last approaching. The natural nervousness, which attacks every woman during the last weeks of pregnancy, usually causes her to anticipate the commencement of labour. The slight dragging pains in the loins, with which is now associated a hardening of the abdomen, become more intense, and quickly assume the characteristic indications of true labour pains. The true labour pain is slight at first and increases in intensity and then dies away again, whereupon a stage of painlessness, absolute rest – the 'intervals of labour' – supervenes, and this is repeated. The labour pains are thus differentiated from all other pain by the fact that they are not incessant, but are regularly relieved and

[1] All involuntary muscle-fibres are unstriped.

separated by these intervals. The important part which these intervals play in the further course of birth will not be clear to us until later, when we shall see that the *strength* of the contractions, as well as the *frequency* with which they occur, is of incalculable importance for the normal process of parturition ; both of these factors are regulated by the intervals. The first labour pains, which have developed gradually out of the false labour pains, last from a half to one minute and are then relieved by intervals of from ten to fifteen minutes. This is borne by the woman with comparative equanimity. But after a few hours there is a considerable change. The pains take on the character of racking, spasmodic contractions of the abdomen, and call forth the first cries of pain; they are the more difficult to bear because the intervals become shorter and shorter. The uterine muscle has begun to work and endeavours to empty the contents as quickly as possible. This task, however, is too difficult to be completed quickly, or at least as quickly as the woman would like. Experience teaches us that for a *primipara*, that is, a woman who is confined for the first time, we must generally allow a period of from eighteen to twenty-four hours. In a *multipara* (a woman who has had one or more children) this period may be reduced to between six and nine hours. A long, painful time. And yet extraordinarily short, when we consider the resistances which have to be overcome.

We have already mentioned the conical part of the uterus (*cervix*) which projects into the vagina and has in its centre an opening called the *os uteri*. The uterine canal which runs through this cone-shaped structure has dilated during the last part of pregnancy, but so far quite insufficiently to allow of the passage of the child's head, which, as a rule, is the first part to pass through the genital passage to the world without. It is obvious that it must take many hours before the relatively large head can gently and gradually dilate the canal, and stretch the opening of the *os uteri* far enough to let the skull pass through. All this must be achieved by the labour pains of the mother. Each pain moves the child forward by about ½ to 1 millimetre,[1] and there are many millimetres to move. The skull by itself would, of course, be able to dilate the canal and overcome the resistance to its passage, by means of the downward movement and the pressure due to the involuntary uterine contractions. But, in addition, all-seeing, all-wise Nature has again provided a means of facilitating and hastening the work, on account of the great suffering which it involves. We have already mentioned that the uterus is occupied by a bladder filled with fluid, within which floats the embryo, connected internally by the umbilical cord to the placenta.

[1] $\frac{1}{50}$ to $\frac{1}{25}$ inch.

As soon as the first labour pains begin, the lower pole of this bladder is gradually pressed against the canal of the *os uteri;* the waters are forced on by pressure from above and the child's head follows. Thus, between the skull and the obstacles in its path, there is an elastic column of fluid which acts as a buffer and opens up the way. Its function is to dilate and shorten the cervix and the uterine canal to such a size that finally the child's head can pass through. During the intervals of labour, the pressure on the bag of waters decreases so that it recedes a little and allows more of the waters to flow past the head in preparation for the next pain. The whole process is similar to that which would take place if we had to pass a comparatively large spherical body through a small aperture in the centre of a thick rubber plate. The plate would be stretched in all directions in order to enlarge the diameter of the aperture, and, when finally it had been stretched to the required size, we should find that the whole of the rubber plate had become considerably thinner. Ultimately the edges in contact with the sphere would be extremely thin. This is what takes place during the first period of labour, which we call the *period of dilatation.* The lower part of the uterus, the uterine canal, and the *os uteri* are opened, dilated and shortened, sufficiently to allow the head, which is descending lower and lower at each labour pain, to emerge from the uterus and pass into the vagina. When, after many labour pains of increasing severity, this difficult task has been finally accomplished, the woman enters on the second stage – *expulsion.*

During this stage, the skull, which is the largest part of the child, and after it the other parts of the body, are forced through the external genital organs – first, through the vagina. Although normally narrow, this passage is easily dilatable, on account of the elasticity of its walls, and during the last weeks of pregnancy it has been rendered still softer and more yielding by the secretion of a viscid fluid which has lubricated it and made it slippery. Nevertheless, the dilatation of the vagina, sufficient to permit the passage of the head, is slow and troublesome. During the first period of labour, dilatation was effected by painful contractions of the uterine muscle, which had to overcome the resistance offered by the bony pelvis. During the second stage, the stretching of the vagina is accompanied by pains of quite a different sort, which provoke in the mother an irresistible desire forcibly to expel the head, now near the external orifice. She feels a bearing-down pain, which rather resembles the well known bearing-down feeling at stool, and this automatically induces the collaboration of the abdominal muscles, which, unlike the uterine muscle, are under voluntary control. The abdominal muscles are contracted violently, so that the woman holds her breath and bears down with great force.

Thus we see that there are two distinct forces at work – the involuntary uterine muscle, and the accessory muscles which are voluntary.

The vagina and *perineum* (the bridge between vagina and anus) are stretched more and more at each successive pain, and the latter finally appears as a very thin sheet covering the child's head. In the meantime the bag of waters has burst as a result of the intense pressure, after having fulfilled its task of dilating the soft tissues. When it bursts, part of the liquor amnii, known as the 'fore-waters' is suddenly expelled – a phenomenon known as the 'breaking of the waters.'

The head begins to appear at the vaginal opening, more and more of it becomes visible, and finally its greatest circumference stretches the opening so widely that a slight additional contraction of the abdominal muscles is sufficient to expel it as far as the neck. A slight pause then ensues. The next pain causes the shoulders, not simultaneously but one after the other, to pass through the vagina, and the trunk and legs quickly follow. The birth of the head is the most painful part of parturition, and during it the groans of the woman may change to piercing cries.[1] A gasp of relief informs us that she herself feels that the worst is over. She sighs with gratitude and, at the first cry of the new-born babe, becomes radiantly happy. All pain, all travail is forgotten in an instant; the mother feels compensated for everything by the birth of the child, who is now connected to her only by means of the umbilical cord. This connection is now severed by the helping hand of the doctor or midwife. The child has already begun to breathe, and therefore no longer requires the blood-circulation afforded by the mother. The pulsation of the umbilical cord ceases, and the latter can now be tied and cut. In the first days of life, the stump is still seen at the spot where it was connected with the child – the navel. It shrivels and dries up and, being no longer necessary, drops off.

The child has now been born, but the uterus still contains structures which, though formerly necessary, have now served their purpose and must be expelled. The woman enters on the third stage – that of the *after-birth*. After the expulsion of the child the uterine muscles remain contracted, and about fifteen to twenty-five minutes later a final labour pain expels the placenta, the fœtal membranes,

[1] Editor's Note. The modern use of anæsthetics has done much to rob childbirth of its terrors, and indeed with scopolamine-morphine narcosis (popularly known as 'twilight sleep') the process may be rendered almost entirely painless. Twilight sleep is sometimes represented as dangerous, but it is not so in the hands of an obstetrician skilled in its use.

and the rest of the umbilical cord, which are no longer needed, together with a quantity of blood. The uterus is now empty; it contracts strongly and can be felt as a round mass reaching up as high as the navel. The distended abdominal wall collapses; there is no longer any swelling, and the abdomen appears almost normal. Birth, the most beautiful, but also the most difficult, of woman's tasks, is at an end. She has now completed her destiny.

The description given above is that of an absolutely normal confinement. In each of the three stages there is a possibility of some complication arising, due to some abnormality of either the mother or the child. When describing the development of the female body we took care to mention that there are very marked individual differences in the development of the bony pelvis even in early childhood. We did so because a narrow bony pelvis may present the most serious obstacles to the passage of the child. The pelvic cavity in the female is formed by bones lying obliquely to the vertical axis of the body, and is therefore more roomy than that of the male, whose bones are more nearly perpendicular. The pelvic outlet of the woman is bigger, both from side to side and from before backwards, on account of the obtuse angle between the pubic bones, and in a normally built woman the dimensions of this outlet correspond to those of the child's head. But her bones may not have developed properly; for example, she may have suffered during childhood from the abnormality known as *rickets*. This disease, which unfortunately receives too little attention, is due to a lack of phosphorus and calcium, which are essential for the growth of bones, and in women who have had rickets, the bony pelvis, together with all the other bones of the body, will have suffered from the lack of these elements. This disease of childhood may not have any serious consequences in case of boys, apart from more or less bowing of the legs, but in the female its results may be very serious in after-life. The lack of phosphorus and calcium may cause various deformities in the pelvis. If the woman never becomes pregnant this may not matter, but if she does it will cause great anxiety to the obstetrician during the confinement. In a woman who has had rickets, the pelvic inlet and outlet are both more or less narrowed and so present a very serious obstacle to the passage of the head. Strong pains may succeed in pressing the soft and yielding skull-bones of the child together so that their edges overlap, and render a normal birth possible. But in such cases the woman must expend two or three times the normal amount of energy in order to overcome the resistance due to her own bony pelvis. The excessive effort required often results in exhaustion of the uterus. Just as any other muscle, if over-tired, may become inert and fail to function,

so the uterine muscle will become exhausted. All progress ceases for a time. But the child must be born, and so after a pause, travail again begins and finally leads to success – and failure. The child is born but it is dead; killed in the mother's body by the intense pressure to which it has been subjected. But we have inadvertently strayed into a sphere which we wished to avoid. It is not the object of this book to provide a 'home doctor,' and therefore pathological conditions have no place in it. We mention these complications of parturition merely in order to have a point of departure for our observations on the psychic condition of the woman during labour, which will be discussed in more detail in Book II. They partly account for women's great fear of childbirth, which, although an absolutely normal process, may easily become abnormal. Another factor is, of course, that fear of the unknown which is latent in every human being.

Parturition is rather different in a *multipara*. It is as though the internal organs – uterus, vagina, *os uteri*, and even the bony pelvis – have been prepared by the birth of the first child for all subsequent births. The second birth does not, as a rule, take more than from six to nine hours. The labour pains, of good duration and strength, recur regularly at short intervals and almost before the woman has had time to think, she feels the head emerging. The first stage is considerably shortened. The resistance of the so-called soft parts is not so great as in the first confinement. The dilatation of the vagina and perineum are easier. The whole process is less difficult and less painful, and makes much less impression on the mind of the woman. She herself now knows what to expect; she knows that cessation of the pains means prolongation of the confinement, and so she is eager to have good strong pains in order to be delivered as soon as possible.

Yet there may be difficulties in subsequent births even though 'everything went smoothly' the first time. This is not due to any new abnormality in the mother, but to the fact that the second, third, and later children, as a rule, are, at birth, bigger than the first child. A larger child means a larger head, greater resistances on the part of the bony pelvis, and consequently greater difficulty in parturition.

One other matter remains to be mentioned – the possibility of twins. Parturition is considerably modified when there are two children to be born. Of course, both cannot be born simultaneously; one must pass down the passage before the other. Twins are as a rule considerably smaller than normal children; they cannot be as well developed as a single child which has the whole of the uterus to itself. As far as parturition is concerned, the most important question is

whether the twins have developed from two simultaneously fertilised ova embedded in two different places in the uterus, or whether they were produced from a single ovum which split into two. This question is important, because in the first case two placentas, more or less separated from each other, two sacs, in short, two separate organs of nourishment, one for each child, are formed in the uterus, whereas in the second case, when the development proceeds from a single ovum, only one common placenta is found, from which, however, two separate sacs develop, separated by a thin partition wall. At a twin birth, therefore, the phenomenon of the bursting of the waters occurs twice, and in uniovular twins one double placenta is expelled, whilst in binovular twins there are two separate placentas. Twins which have been produced from the same ovum are always of the same sex, whereas in twins which have been derived from two ova the sexes may be different.

The process of parturition which we have just described does not remain without influence on the rest of the woman's body. The superhuman task which the woman performs during parturition, naturally affects the heart and lungs. As in every other case of great physical exertion the frequency of the pulse is quickened, i.e. the heart beats more rapidly, and this results in quicker breathing. The increased abdominal pressure affects the stomach and bowels, and results in involuntary discharge of fæcal matter and perhaps also in vomiting. Bathed in perspiration the woman labours, especially during the period of expulsion, with all the force at her disposal. She presses and pushes as much as she possibly can, and this excessive effort shows itself immediately after birth in great exhaustion. The pain and the sweating produce an excessive thirst, which may be so tormenting that the dry mucous membranes burn like fire. A quantity of warm blood is usually lost with the after-birth and there naturally follows a *rigor*, during which the woman shivers violently and her teeth chatter. This lasts some time and can only be relieved by warm coverings.

So much then for birth itself. As soon as the child is born and the placenta expelled, the woman enters upon a new epoch of her life – the time of 'lying-in' (*puerperium*). During this period, the woman's sexual organs are restored to their normal condition, and it requires about four to six weeks for this to be accomplished. It lasts until uterus, uterine canal, *os uteri*, vagina and vaginal opening, have become quite normal again. Obviously the woman need not be confined to her bed during the whole of this period. The duration of the period for which she must stay in bed is not subject to any hard and fast rule; we cannot prescribe confinement to bed for eight, ten, or four-

teen days for every woman indiscriminately. It depends on individual factors, for every organism is differently constituted and reacts differently; each woman requires whatever number of days is necessary for her recuperation.

What takes place during this period? Firstly, the uterus, which has expanded greatly, must contract again. The individual muscle fibres of the uterine wall must return to their normal number and size so that the uterus gradually regains its pear-shaped form. On about the tenth day the uterus has involuted to such an extent that it cannot any longer be felt through the external wall of the abdomen; it has returned to its proper position in the true pelvis. At the same time, the oviducts and ovaries, which during pregnancy were drawn up high with the uterus, also return to their normal positions again and prepare for their normal function of producing ova in readiness for a new fertilisation and pregnancy. Fortunately, a fresh pregnancy very seldom occurs immediately after birth – i.e. during the first few months. The involution of the uterus during the lying-in period also includes a complete renewal of the mucous membrane which lines its cavity. The chorionic villi are no longer needed and are automatically destroyed. At the same time, all the surrounding parts of the uterine mucous membrane are expelled with them, and this discharge brings about the phenomenon of the so-called *lochia*. This is a discharge of fluid from the uterus through the vagina, rather like the menstrual flow, but more copious and of somewhat different appearance. This discharge is mixed, during the first three or four days, with clots of blood from the numerous open blood-vessels of the wall of the uterus. From the fourth to the ninth day it is yellowish in colour, mixed with serum and mucus and a little blood.

The raw surface of the whole of the uterine cavity begins to be covered with a new mucous membrane, and excretes a yellow mucous fluid. Beginning between the ninth and the fourteenth days, and lasting for several weeks, the discharge becomes milky. This consists of mucus together with numerous degenerated glands and shreds of mucous membrane. Gradually, even this discharge decreases, and after about six weeks ceases altogether. It should be distinctly understood that it is not a pathological process, but as natural as the formation of a crust on an external wound. The quantity of fluid discharged during the first three days amounts to about one kilogram.[1] Any variation in the appearance, colour, quantity, or duration of the discharge indicates some pathological condition. It may be that the after-birth has not come away completely and causes the mixture of blood to last longer, or it may be that the disturbance of involution by some infec-

[1] i.e. 2⅕ lbs.

tion causes a discharge of pus. These matters need not be discussed further in a popular work such as this.

Soon after birth the breast-glands begin to produce milk, and a new phase of woman's life begins.

CHAPTER VII

THE WOMAN AS MOTHER

How wonderful is Nature! What a difference there is in this respect between human beings and other mammals. In the latter, the milk-producing organs develop during pregnancy, i.e. before birth. The young animal is scarcely born before it reaches for the teats of the mother and finds the milk already there. In human beings it is not until two or three days after birth that the development of the breast glands and the production of milk begin, and then continue rapidly. If the child is put to the breast on the second day, it can obtain only a very little yellowish milky fluid. Its sucking acts as a stimulus to the development of the glands and to the production of milk, so that on the fourth day the milk 'comes in' to the now very much enlarged breasts. They become tense and hard; there is usually a slight rise in temperature, but feeding the child gives relief, and the breasts then normally produce milk in accordance with the demand. The mother, in a few days, becomes a wet-nurse.

The woman needs absolute rest during these two important physical changes. So, too, the changes which have taken place during pregnancy and parturition in the breathing, circulation, and digestion, should now be repaired and the functions return again to normal. Similarly with the muscles of the abdominal wall, which has been stretched so excessively. The woman is not able to leave her bed and resume the tasks of every-day life until all these processes of involution have progressed sufficiently.

Not until then will she become a healthy mother. The doctor must decide when this should be; he alone knows the normal condition of a healthy woman, and the evil consequences of a too brief lying-in period or inadequate nursing. We personally should like to see the period of lying-in extended to at least eight weeks, if for no other reason than the necessity for absolute sexual rest during this period. Nothing is so injurious to a young mother as inadequate rest for the sex organs, which have had such a hard time during pregnancy and parturition. *Reason demands that all sexual desire on the part of either man or wife must be suppressed in the interests of the young mother's health.*[1]

Processes so complicated and wonderful as confinement and lying-in could not fail to give rise to popular superstitions. As in all other mysterious phenomena in the life of humanity, and particularly of

[1] Editor's Note. If the sexual desire of either partner is so strong as to demand relief, this can be obtained without actual coitus.

women, we find that, again and again, gods and good and evil spirits are invoked to explain it. From the earliest times almost all peoples have had their own myths concerning Birth. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans there were goddesses under whose protection the woman stood from the beginning of pregnancy. These goddesses had their own cults and temples. We refrain from treating these well-known historical facts in detail and will merely mention the names of Ceres, Hecate, Astarte, and Astaroth. Originally these were all goddesses of human fertility, and later of the fertility of the earth. In contrast to this view of pregnancy as being under divine protection, we find among savage peoples scorn and almost inhuman treatment of the woman during her confinement and lying-in. During childbirth, as during menstruation, the woman is regarded as unclean. The woman of the black races, whether Indian or Negro, has to go through childbirth entirely alone. She is isolated and has no protection against the elements except perhaps some miserable hut. There is no such thing as midwifery in our sense of the word, or nursing or even the most elementary hygiene. The woman has to get through labour and lying-in alone; she has to sever the umbilical cord herself. If she or the child should die it is no great matter, since she is scarcely valued as highly as a good servant. Thus we read in some of the accounts of the African explorers that the women continue to do arduous work right up to the very last hour, and if they belong to a nomadic tribe, are simply left on the road wherever the tribe may happen to be when labour commences. The others proceed on their journey When the confinement and lying-in are over the woman has to try and find her tribe again! Sometimes there is a crude effort at obstetrics – the men or women of the tribe may press on a board placed over the abdomen of the woman, or in some cases assistance is given by reaching through the vagina to the embryo and pulling. Needless to say these efforts are more often fatal than successful.

The belief that the woman is 'unclean' during childbirth is almost universal among savage tribes. Every one who comes into contact with the woman or her 'uncleanness' is also contaminated. For this reason there is usually a period prescribed, during which the husband must not approach, nor have sexual relations with, his wife. In some cases this period lasts till many months after birth. Modern civilised peoples have a very different attitude towards childbirth.

When the lying-in is over and the woman has resumed her normal life, a new stage begins, which we have called the period of 'motherhood.' It lasts from a year to a year and a half, that is to say until the child has passed the most helpless and dependent period. During the first half of this time all the mother's energy is devoted to the

nursing of the child. I am referring, of course, to real mothers, not to those ladies who give themselves airs and feel that they are wonderfully self-sacrificing if they suckle their child for ten weeks. A real mother forgets herself completely. She does not mind if the excessive quantities of fluid, which she has to drink, make her stout. The breasts become fuller and heavier and all the curves of the body more pronounced. Parturition itself causes such tremendous physical changes that we may say that a woman does not attain full physical development until she has passed through this process. Although the more striking changes which have appeared during pregnancy now retrogress, a complete return to the *status quo* is extremely rare. The *striæ* on the abdomen become paler and only a slight discoloration reveals to the experienced medical observer what has taken place.

The distension of the veins of the lower limbs disappears; but there is always a tendency to varicose veins, especially if the woman has not received proper attention. The yellowish spots on the face and the swelling of the lips disappear during the lying-in; the eyes become more brilliant, producing the appearance which we usually call 'madonna-like.' In the course of my practice I have had charge of thousands of confinements, and have therefore seen many young mothers, but scarcely one without this 'madonna-like' expression, except among some pauper hospital patients of the lowest classes to whom the child was a curse. If there is anyone who does not know what expression we mean, let him look at any happy young mother as she takes the child to her breast.

Nine months after birth comes the dreaded moment when the child must be weaned. We have already noted that among some primitive peoples this weaning never takes place, and pointed out that we could explain the permanent functioning of the breasts by the continuous demands made upon them. This fact is of interest in the present connection. The child may be weaned quite easily and naturally because the mammary glands cease to produce milk as soon as the stimulation due to the demand for milk is removed. The diminution in the capacity of the breasts is proportional to the diminution in frequency of suckling. Weaning ought not to be dreaded at all. It is simply a question of gradually increasing the intervals between successive meal-times, and replacing them by artificial means. Immediately after weaning the breasts may still be firm and full of milk. This may cause some pain, but it will cease within a week at most. Soon the breasts automatically decrease in size, the glands atrophy and await the time when they will again be called upon.

The soft passages have naturally been injured to some extent during parturition, and the mucous membrane is torn in places. The

resulting scars modify the appearance of the vagina considerably, especially near the *os uteri*.

In the virgin the cervix was a symmetrical conically shaped body with the circular *os uteri* as its centre, but after birth it is asymmetrical and the *os* appears as a (usually transverse) fissure. The vaginal entrance is also permanently stretched and therefore wider than in the virgin. If the birth has been unusually difficult or badly conducted it may actually gape somewhat. But these details are interesting only to the doctor.[1]

We turn now to the later stages of woman's life. Subsequent births will intensify the changes just described and, if obstetric care is inadequate, the changes may be very considerable. Otherwise the woman continues to flourish, and the phenomena of increasing maturity are not essentially different from those in the male. The man, if immersed in business, does not pay so much attention to the first wrinkle or the first grey hair as the woman does, but this is due entirely to psychological reasons.

The next great shock in the woman's physical life occurs at the *menopause* or 'change of life.' It is customary to speak of the 'years' of the change of life, but why 'years' is not clear. It is true that there may be some sign of the cessation of the functioning of the ovaries some months before it finally occurs, but this is again a purely psychological phenomenon. The anticipation and fear of this inevitable change have a very great influence on the woman's mind, but this aspect of the matter will be dealt with in Book II.

Here we confine ourselves to the physical aspect. The menstrual period begins to show a modification some time between the fortieth and fiftieth year. There is no definite age for it. The intervals between successive menstrual periods become greater and the flow scantier. This disturbance of menstruation is the first sign of the failure of the ovaries to produce ova. They have in fact begun to atrophy permanently. As this degeneration proceeds, they produce fewer and fewer ova; there are fewer and fewer corpora lutea, and consequently the menstrual periods become less and less frequent and profuse. This process cannot take years; it is at most a matter of about ten months. No organ takes longer than this to atrophy.[2]

It should be noted that the normal manifestation of the menopause

[1] Editor's Note. Gaping of the vaginal entrance may be so considerable as to interfere with the normal satisfaction of sexual intercourse. In many cases this trouble may be corrected by the use of certain exercises for gaining control over the circular muscle at the entrance to the vagina. Every woman should have voluntary control over this muscle.

[2] Editor's Note. In some cases the change of life is undoubtedly spread over a longer period.

is a decrease in duration and frequency of the menstrual period, and not the opposite. Like every other phenomenon in woman's life, the menopause is frequently misunderstood. This misunderstanding may not matter in many cases, but it is desirable that women should know more about the menopause, since the entire organism is peculiarly liable to serious disturbances at this time. The genital organs may also be seriously affected; irritations, which at any other time would be harmless, may be serious at this juncture. It is therefore essential that every one should understand that at the change of life the menstrual periods become less frequent and the flow diminishes. *Any severe hæmorrhage at this time is not normal but pathological, and should receive medical attention.*

There are other phenomena associated with the menopause – so-called 'deficiency symptoms' – which are perfectly normal. These are due to the declining activity of the ovaries as glands of internal secretion. This activity has been responsible for the secondary sexual characters in the woman, just as the corresponding activity of the testicles is responsible for the corresponding characteristics in man. The gradual cessation of this activity, therefore, has an important influence on the whole of the woman's organism.

In general these changes are similar to those which are seen in a young woman following the surgical removal of the ovaries for disease. There are considerable disturbances of the heart and circulation, and also a marked tendency to adiposity. The phenomena popularly known as 'flushes' are due to instability of the blood-pressure and circulation, which causes sudden congestion of the head and brain, and so leads to a feeling of excessive warmth, reasonless blushing, and severe headache.

The other female organs begin to atrophy when the ovaries cease functioning. The uterus becomes smaller, and so do the vagina and labia. Within a year of the menopause the glandular tissue of the breast disappears, and the breasts themselves become flabby. In some cases there may be an increase in the size of the bosom during and after the menopause. This apparent anomaly is simply due to the fact that the general increase in adiposity more than compensates for the loss of glandular tissue in the breasts.

When the menopause is over the woman has ceased to be a woman in the full sense of the word. Until now her life has shown a continuously rising curve of femininity. All the characteristics which were important to her reproductive function have developed continuously. The apex of the curve is perhaps in the years between twenty and thirty-five years of age, which we call the 'prime of life.' From the menopause on she becomes more nearly an asexual individual, as she

was before puberty. However, there are exceptions even to this rule. There are cases in which the ovaries have produced ova even after the menopause, and although menstruation has ceased the woman has become pregnant. This anomaly is the so-called 'late pregnancy.' The extinction of the functional activity of the ovaries does not mean an end of the typically feminine mental life. Even though physically the woman ceases to be a woman, her mind and sexual character still remains specifically feminine. But this will be discussed later.

After the menopause the woman ages rapidly. All the arts of fashion and cosmetics cannot conceal the truth. Adiposity or leanness become more and more marked; the wrinkles become deeper, the hair greyer; the body loses its elasticity. Soon some other organ ceases to function. Old age has come.

It is not part of our task to describe this period in any detail. It belongs to the description of old age in general, since there are no important *physical* differences between old men and old women. With the mental life it is otherwise. In the man it is normally filled with the consciousness of a life's work well done and the enjoyment of the peace which he has earned. But the woman, generally, is entirely dominated by one thought – to be young again, to be as young as possible, or if not to be young, at least to appear so.

We have thus arrived at the end of our first book. We have tried to describe woman's physical life, *ab ovo* almost up to her death. We have followed the complete development of her body and in conclusion may safely assert that woman is the greatest of all the miracles of Nature. Every function of her body, every detail of the development of her organs has been carefully planned for the purpose of reproduction. There are many conflicting forces in her life, but they are all directed by a superior power which aims at fitting her for her great task as the sustainer of the human race.

BOOK II

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMAN

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD

There is certainly nothing more difficult than to establish a basis for the right valuation of the facts of human psychology. Attempts have been made by the philosophers of all ages to fit these facts into some sort of scheme, and to establish basic principles by means of the comparative method. But the critical analysis of all these attempts leaves the independent thinker with a feeling of dissatisfaction, almost of shame, that we poor mortals really know so little. The psychology of every individual human being is different. Each one, high or low, old or young, man woman or child, has his or her own especial mental life. It is true that we may be able, after thorough analysis, to establish a certain general similarity in the mental processes of human beings of a certain age, or belonging to a certain class, but it remains only a general similarity. If then a philosopher or scientist professes, on the basis of such similarities, to give the psychology of a whole class of human beings, for instance, of one sex, it can claim only to be a collection of subjective impressions and can claim no validity whatever for an individual who does not happen to conform to rule. Such a psychology can only describe those particular events which happened to strike that particular observer. It can never be more than a description or compilation of the peculiarities of mind and character which perhaps were common to three-fourths, or nine-tenths of the individuals who came under observation. A psychology of childhood, for instance, may give us an account of the naïve methods of thought of most children, of their capricious desires, of their boundless aspiration for all that is beautiful and good; but again and again we shall come across exceptions to the type described as normal, whether prodigies or naughty children. Just as we find these individual differences among the subjects of the investigation, so also we find variations attributable to the views of the observer and to the spirit of the time in which they are written. There is really no such thing as a psychology of Man. There is only the psychology of the individual.

In spite of this, however, attempts have always been made to analyse the mental processes of mankind; almost every philosopher thinks that he is wise enough to write a psychology of the human race, although it is really nothing more than the description of the mental processes which take place in some few human beings, described and presented as they are seen from the standpoint of the particular observer. They cannot claim objectivity; they are influenced to

a great extent by the emotions and ideas of the observer, i.e. by his own psychology.

This indubitable lack of objectivity in the subject of psychology is especially apparent when we read works which deal with the psychology of women. It is quite amazing what views one meets when one comes to this part of the study of woman. The ancient philosophers, who plunged into this subject with avidity, were always inclined to glorify and extol the mind of woman. It is only necessary to recall those ideal figures which have been handed down to us in the literature of the Greeks and Romans. With the Middle Ages, an era began in which various thinkers dared to stigmatise some fault or other in woman as the indication of her depravity. In antiquity, nothing was to be found but a glorification of woman in general, but to-day we have the opposite – a general tendency to depreciate woman and to stress all her worst qualities.

One attitude was just as false as is the other. Just as in antiquity there were not exclusively ideal types of women, so to-day there are others besides evil women. The spirit of the period, the attitude of the observer, and the mode of observation, together determine the judgment. It is only necessary to think of Schopenhauer, who in his well-known book *Parerga and Paralipomena*, gave a description of woman which, because it is so unfavourable, leaves us with the impression of extreme bias. Schopenhauer was a woman-hater, or rather a hater of the one woman who deceived him and would not reciprocate his advances. He made his grudge against some few women a grudge against the whole female sex. A few quotations from his study will enable the reader to judge for himself.[1]

'You need only look at the way in which she is formed to see that woman is not meant to undergo great labour, whether of the mind or of the body. She pays the debt of life not by what she does but by what she suffers; by the pains of child-bearing and care for the child, and by submission to her husband, to whom she should be a patient and cheering companion. The keenest sorrows and joys are not for her, nor is she called upon to display a great deal of strength. The current of her life should be more gentle, peaceful and trivial than man's, without being essentially happier or unhappier. . . . The nobler and more perfect a thing is, the later and slower it is in arriving at maturity. A man reaches the maturity of his reasoning powers and

[1] Translators' Note. Schopenhauer's study 'On Women,' which is chapter 27 of *Parerga and Paralipomena*, is to be found in *Studies in Pessimism* (George Allen), translated by T. B. Saunders. Mr. Saunders' translation has been used in what follows.

mental faculties hardly before the age of 28; a woman at 18. And then too, in the case of a woman, it is only reason of a sort – very niggard in its dimensions. That is why women remain children their whole life long; never seeing anything but what is quite close to them, cleaving to the present moment, taking appearance for reality, and preferring trifles to matters of first importance. . . . Women are directly fitted for acting as the nurses and teachers of our early childhood by the fact that they are themselves childish, frivolous and short-sighted; in a word, they are big children all their life long – a kind of intermediate stage between the child and the full-grown man, who is man in the strict sense of the word. See how a girl will fondle a child for days together, dance with it and sing to it; and then think what a man, with the best will in the world, would do if he were put in her place. . . . When nature made two divisions of the human race, she did not draw the line exactly through the middle. These divisions are polar and opposed to each other it is true; but the difference between them is not merely qualitative, it is also quantitative. This is just the view which the ancients took of woman, and the view which people in the East take now; and their judgment as to her proper position is more correct than ours, with our old French notions of gallantry and our preposterous system of reverence – that highest product of Teutonico-Christian stupidity. These notions have served only to make women more arrogant and overbearing; so that one is occasionally reminded of the holy apes in Benares, who in the consciousness of their sanctity and inviolable position think they can do exactly as they please. . . . It is only the man whose intellect is clouded by the sexual impulses that could give the name of 'the fair sex' to that undersized, narrow-shouldered, broad-hipped, and short-legged race: for the whole beauty of the sex is bound up with this impulse. Instead of calling them beautiful there would be more warrant for describing women as the unæsthetic sex. Neither for music, nor for poetry, nor for fine art, have they really and truly any sense or susceptibility; it is mere mockery if they make a pretence of it in order to assist their endeavour to please. Hence, as a result of this, they are incapable of taking a *purely objective interest* in anything; and the reason of it seems to me to be as follows. A man tries to acquire direct mastery over things, either by understanding them or forcing them to do his will. But a woman is always and everywhere reduced to obtaining this mastery *indirectly*, namely through a man; and whatever direct mastery she may have it is entirely confined to him. And so it lies in a woman's nature to look upon everything only as a means of conquering man; if she takes an interest in anything else, it is simulated – a mere roundabout way of gaining her ends by

coquetry and feigning what she does not feel. . . . You need only to observe the kind of attention women bestow upon a concert, an opera, or a play – the childish simplicity, for example, with which they keep on chattering during the finest passages in the greatest masterpieces. If it is true that the Greeks excluded women from their theatres, they were quite right in what they did; at any rate you would have been able to hear what was said upon the stage. . . .

'With young girls Nature seems to have had in view what, in the language of the drama, is called a *coup de théâtre*. For a few years she dowers them with a wealth of beauty and is lavish in her gift of charm, at the expense of the rest of their life, in order that during these years they may capture the phantasy of some man to such a degree that he is hurried into undertaking the honourable care of them, in some form or other, as long as they live. . . .

'In my opinion the best arrangement would be that by which women, whether widows or daughters, should never receive beyond the interest for life on property secured by mortgage, and in no case the property itself, or the capital, except where all male descendants fail. The people who make money are men, not women; and it follows from this that women are neither justified in having unconditional possession of it, nor fit persons to be entrusted with its administration. When wealth in any true sense of the word, that is to say, funds, houses, or land, is to go to them as an inheritance, they should never be allowed the free disposition of it. In their case a guardian should always be appointed; and hence they should never be given free control of their own children, wherever it can be avoided. The vanity of women, even though it should not prove to be greater than that of men, has this much danger in it, that it takes a purely material direction. They are vain, I mean, of their personal beauty, and then of finery, show, and magnificence. But with men vanity often takes the direction of non-material advantages such as intellect, learning, courage.'

These few examples will suffice to show us that the views of Schopenhauer are terribly biased. Schopenhauer – the misogynist. Could a misogynist have written in any other way? Of such 'Schopenhauers' there is a considerable number; otherwise admirable men who seem to have made it a point of honour to indulge in this habit of vilifying women. I have in mind Moebius who in his book *Der Physiologische Schwachsinn des Weibes* tries to deny to women any strength or acuity of mind, just as in another book *Die Nervosität* he insists that woman, on account of her deficiencies, is irrational and therefore predisposed to nervous troubles. E. von Hartmann expresses

himself on woman and her mentality quite in the vein of Schopenhauer, only, if possible, even more vehemently and caustically. He denies practically every virtue to woman. Has he not also perhaps suffered painful disappointment at the hands of some woman? Finally we may think of a more recent book, Weininger's *Sex and Character*,[1] the general tendency of which is certainly not that of an unbiased critic; the whole book, despite certain interesting and very valuable philosophical judgments, has in general no other purpose than to present woman, and especially her mind, in as bad a light as possible – as bad indeed as it perhaps may be in a few exceptional cases. For, speaking generally, ***woman's mentality is high***, though perhaps puzzling. As Hipple says, 'Woman is a comma, man is a full stop; at the latter you know where you are, at the former you must read further.'

It may seem like a contradiction of all that I have so far said if I now proceed to analyse the mind of woman. I am fully conscious of being unable to give any new fundamental theories on the mental life of woman in this part of our book; but the solution of this great riddle of Nature is too enticing to the scientist for us not to consider it, in such a work as this, according to the best of our knowledge and ability. I say 'consider' because a solution cannot be found. Is not the mind of woman a great eternal question mark? Remember the myth of the Sphinx! Was it chance that the Sphinx was represented with the upper half of a female body and with a female face of such extraordinary beauty? Did not this symbol alone represent the epitome of all that was puzzling?

There was a time when many scientists claimed to show by comparisons of the brain and the formation of the skull in men and women respectively, that there was a natural deficiency in the weight of the brain in females and in the size of the female skull, which was responsible for a lower intelligence in women. This theory still finds many enthusiastic supporters, but again they are, without exception, men whose whole mode of thought is antagonistic to the female sex. Especially at the time when the world-shaking 'Woman's movement' was the centre of general interest, all these facts derogatory to the female sex were resolutely adduced by anti-feminists. Whether all these weighings and measurings of the brain and the results deduced are correct or not, whether there are or are not clearly demonstrable differences in this respect between the male and female sex, the fact remains that the size and weight of the brain or skull have absolutely nothing to do with the intelligence and mental life of woman *per se*! There are women with quite small skulls who in intelligence far excel

[1] Translators' Note. English translation published by William Heinemann.

men with normally sized brains; and to adduce all those facts, which may be interesting to the biologist, in connection with the solution of a social problem such as that of the emancipation of women, is illogical and fallacious. Whatever one may think of the emancipation question, it stands or falls, not by the mental or spiritual characteristics of woman, but wholly and solely by her physical qualities. It is the body and physical endowments of woman and not her mind which limit the vocations for which she is fitted. And that woman is inferior to man in physical respects is a fact which no one would ever deny; it is innate. Menstruation alone renders a woman less capable of physical effort during a few days every month, and pregnancy, confinement, and lying-in, must seriously affect the structure and condition of her body, her physical strength, and powers of resistance.

I maintain further, that women, in spite of these physical handicaps, which are so eagerly adduced in this controversy, have a much greater tolerance for pain and are much more patient and unflinching in the face of purely physical disturbances than men. Let us remember that nine-tenths of the women who follow a calling, or more accurately, of all women – for to be a mother and wife is also a calling – in spite of menstruation and pregnancy, carry out, or try to carry out, their duties as long as possible. Let us reflect quite fairly, how 'brave' and 'strong' men would behave under similar circumstances!

The mind of woman has absolutely nothing to do with the weight of her brain. But it has a great deal to do with the many apparently indefinable characteristics and habits which we must stigmatise as typically feminine. I said 'apparently indefinable'; for they must all be ascribed to the *Woman* in woman. That is to say, though their original rudiments might have been inherited unconsciously by the daughter from her mother and handed down by tradition, they do not take full shape except as the result of various *natural* processes in woman: menstruation, sexual intercourse, love, marriage, motherhood. It is only the combination of all these factors which completes woman's psychic development. Thus, though the rudiment of this typical feminine mental life may be found already in the female child, its full development is a matter of time.

Following out the plan of this book, we shall now describe this development of the psychic life of the female from earliest childhood. Although one is inclined to think that the early years of childhood, up to the seventh, are unimportant from the standpoint of specifically feminine psychology, yet as early as the third year, typically feminine traits may be noted, which are unconsciously handed down from the mother to the daughter. What a difference there is between

a three-year-old girl and a boy of the same age! The one is a little doll, decked out with as many frills and bows and laces as possible, and the other a sturdy little fellow in a simple suit. In the one we note a passion for nursing dolls and playing at 'mothers'; in the other, a desire for domination, a liking for playing at soldiers, and even at this age he is wild and unruly. It may be objected that a little girl of this age only plays with dolls because she has received such presents from her parents; but this is not so. How often we see poor little girls of the lower classes who make themselves something like a doll out of old scraps of rag, while the boys make themselves a soldier's helmet out of a newspaper and a general's sword out of a broomstick. It is not the parents who teach children these things; it is the male or female tendency latent in the child from birth, which determines its games. But we may go a step further. In the second period of childhood – between the fourth and seventh years – the differences between boys and girls become even more obvious; the girl's character becomes definitely feminine. We may already note the beginnings of that vanity which clings to the woman till death. A little girl, who as yet does not understand exactly what her reflection is, will stand before the mirror and look at herself with pleasure, arranging and re-arranging her hair and her clothes. She is not only eager to decorate herself, but is always dressing up her dolls too. Vanity is the keynote of woman's character. It is the most important of all feminine characteristics and throughout the whole of a woman's life rules all her actions. On this vanity as basis, many other feminine characteristics gradually develop, which, as we shall show later, are intimately related to the sexual life. We do not intend by this to support the Freudian view that this characteristic vanity, which is innate in the female child, or at least develops in her at a very early age, is a purely sexual phenomenon latent in the germ cell. We must admit that mothers, by over-dressing little girls and decking them out with bows and ribbons and bright colours, contribute to the development of this characteristic peculiarity, which I call *primary vanity*. To some extent, therefore, it is handed down by the mother.

On the other hand the boy of the same age is utterly different; he is always an untidy little animal. Even though he is wearing the most beautiful suit or the cleanest clothes, he cares nothing about his external appearance. He never thinks of standing before the mirror and admiring himself, nor of trying to dress better than his companions. He takes the same pride in courage and recklessness as the little girl in a new hair ribbon, a new pinafore, or a new dress for her doll.

This vanity is not only found in the children of the wealthier

classes. We find it also in girls of the middle and lower classes, for even though her parents cannot afford to give her all she wants, a simple ribbon is sufficient to draw her to the mirror.

Later, when describing the sexual life of woman, we shall see that vanity, as well as many other of the characteristics that we shall mention, have, even at this early age, an (unconscious) sexual significance. The girl is already, in some sense, a coquette. This coquetry develops spontaneously and is directed towards the little boy of the same age. An eight-year old girl thinks herself very superior to a boy of her own age! She regards it as beneath her dignity to play with boys. The little girls stand aloof and watch with astonishment the boys' rough games – pirates, brigands, or soldiers. And if the girl does, once in a while, join in, she must always be the captured princess, the prize, for the bravest of the boys! Why is this? Is it really only due to the parents? Is it not rather a feeling of superiority and pride latent in her unconscious? Or again: watch small children playing at 'mothers and fathers.' An old white cloth becomes the bridal veil (vanity), and now the poor boy must obey. If he does not the girl will not play any more.

A new relationship soon begins to develop in the life of the girl – she finds a 'best friend.' She seeks a girl companion of her own age, who is just as vain and coquettish, but less self-assertive and more ready to give way. The 'best friend' relationship is only possible if one of the two is willing to give in to the other. Only such a friend is worthy of sharing all the thousand little secrets which already fill the youthful heart. And far more frequently than parents suspect, some little school-boy figures prominently in the secrets of nine- or ten-year-old children. The whispered secrets of such children must be regarded much more seriously than they usually are. They mark the beginning of another feminine characteristic, which, again quite unconsciously, starts to develop at an early age. I mean the passion for talking about other people. I deliberately avoid the words *scandal-mongering* or *gossiping*, which have an unpleasant sense, but there is a passion for elaborating and exaggerating the simplest occurrences, so as to show others in the worst light and herself in the best. This is a characteristic which we never find in boys. A boy of eight or twelve years goes for his neighbour, if he dislikes him, with his fists; a blow gives him satisfaction. But the girl of the same age can only get this satisfaction by inventing and retailing stories against her enemy. Is not this characteristic also latent in the female child? Or does one girl teach another this method of revenge on an enemy who is hated chiefly because she is better dressed, has a longer or a thicker plait, or is more popular with the boys? The last of these is the most im-

portant. Very early the female child develops a passion to please which is quite distinct from primary vanity.

Her vanity is egocentric, but the desire to please is altruistic. From the latter there develops spontaneously an ever-increasing rivalry with her school-fellows, teachers, and even her best friend. Even the most intimate friendship is pitilessly sacrificed to this feeling of rivalry. Education and punishment are powerless against this feeling. This passion for always being the first, the best, the most beautiful, has many evil consequences, but is useful if it is directed to school work. As a result, girls of this age study much more industriously than boys. Each girl desires to be first, at any rate during the early years of school life. Later, a new aim appears, and the girl to take first place is she who knows best how to make the most of herself, and appear most attractive. Even though she may be at the bottom of the class, she takes first place if she can only make an 'impression' on – the schoolmaster!

The characteristics so far dealt with naturally exert a great influence on the whole of the mental life of the girl between seven and twelve. Towards the end of this period we find a sudden increase of these qualities and she develops an aspiration for physical, mental, and spiritual beauty – beauty conceived relatively and always referred to the ego. All that appears good or beautiful in other girls of the same age is claimed by the girl herself whether it lies within her range or not. And so if her neighbour's daughter gets a new dress each season, the girl cannot rest until her mother has made her a new dress too. Mothers are often very unwise in this matter. They pander to this latent desire to please so that it becomes excessive, and so lay the foundation of that passion for spending which is characteristic of woman in later life. I shall have to speak of this later; it is a natural attribute of the fully developed woman, but it may be artificially stimulated. There is another quality which is favoured by the complaisance of parents. I refer to the imitative impulse which generally has bad results when applied to such things as clothes, but may have a good influence in education and mental development. It may lead to better work at school or to the acquirement of other accomplishments such as music and art. As is to be expected, along with this imitative impulse and desire to please, there may be a development of the sense of beauty itself. We know indeed that women, all their life long, have a passionate longing for beauty. We also know that there is a certain connection between a woman's beauty and her social position. The longing for beauty and those accessories which are indispensable to it, involves also the longing for a good social position. For social position is everything. And so we see that the

imitative impulse latent in every little girl is an unconscious and indirect factor in this important question.

For the girl desires to imitate only the more attractive and better dressed of her companions, never the poorer and less attractive, even though in ability and culture the latter may be much superior.

It would be foolish to seek for further characteristics of early childhood on which to base general conclusions about the psychology of the girl at this period. Although childhood may in general be described as neutral, it does show the various virtues and faults which we have just described, and is therefore characteristically feminine.

CHAPTER II

ADOLESCENCE

THE girl's character changes considerably during the next period – the years of development. We pointed out in Book I that a girl gradually, and at first quite unconsciously, understands how to play the part alloted to her by Nature. The girl takes pride in the growth of her breasts and envies her companions if their bosoms are better than hers. We are now in a position to understand the psychological basis of this; it springs from vanity, the desire to please, an unconscious longing to be ideally beautiful, and a conscious desire to appear grown-up. The older the girl becomes and the more she develops (the most important event being of course the onset of menstruation) the more marked do these qualities become. Until now they have been no more than a sort of imitative instinct, but now they assume a real character, and have a single aim – to be striking, to attract attention. The little girl has scarcely ever been noticed except by one or two persons. Now she begins to want to attract everybody's notice. The admiration and envy of her schoolmates and her best friend are not enough; every one must notice and admire her physical development. Hitherto the passion to please has been unconscious of its real aim, but now it gives place to conscious coquetry. No period of a woman's life is so dominated by coquetry as the years of adolescence. Not that coquetry is absent in later life, but as a woman grows older she grows more skilful. The lack of subtlety makes coquetry more noticeable in adolescence.

Before the first menstruation, the girl is mentally and physically a child, but its onset produces a complete change. Great harm may be done if the girl has not been properly prepared and enlightened. Even thoughtful and intelligent mothers still hold that girls should be encouraged to believe in the story of the stork as long as possible. The curiosity natural to every child is whetted in the adolescent girl by the whispers of her schoolmates, especially when she hears that one day 'something startling is going to happen.' She begins to anticipate it. She feels that some disturbance is taking place in her body, and when one day she wakes up to find herself bleeding and feels severe cramp-like pains, she is puzzled and begins to doubt the experience and knowledge of her friend. She is afraid that there is something wrong with her. The first menstruation causes a severe emotional shock whether the girl has been prepared or not. In the former case because she begins to think about sex. Her former curiosity is reinforced by a strong desire to know more about 'unmentionable' things which are of course not yet called by their right names.

If she has not been prepared (as is more usual) she broods over it and feels she is suffering from some illness. This worry causes severe depression, almost bordering on melancholia. Once she is over the first shock she begins to weave romances about herself. She tells long stories of her experiences – experiences which have never really happened to her, but have been gathered from servants, governesses, or friends. Now the 'best friend' really comes to the fore. She must be told everything. For the first time we find a 'prince' playing a part in these stories, and so her coquetry and desire to please increases. Now at last she knows what beauty is for.

We must not omit to point out that at this time the girl begins to develop a serious attitude towards life. Hitherto she has been content to play with dolls, but now she begins to be conscious of the destiny which Nature has marked out for her – motherhood. The love of dolls changes into a love of children, and nothing can give her greater pleasure than to have to look after them. If one watches her with children, one is amazed at her earnestness, care, and devotion. She is earnest because her maternal instinct has awakened, but also because she is developing a serious attitude to life. We should not, however, forget the other purely feminine characteristics, especially the aspiration for beauty – purely physical beauty. This is the time when girls are much more industrious, intelligent, imaginative, and better behaved in company, than boys of the same age. Hobbledehoyhood, and that wild longing for physical strength, conquest, and pre-eminence, are quite lacking in the girl; in her the period of storm and stress (*Sturm und Drang*) does not arrive until later, and then in a quite different form, in the so-called 'flapper years.' What power and strength are for the boy, beauty and knowledge are for the girl.

The mysteries of adolescence produce in every girl a tendency to lying. The girl of this age lies when she knows what she is talking about; but she lies still more when she is ignorant, when she wishes to outdo her companions and schoolmates in the recital of her experiences. She not only deceives others – she deceives herself as well, because she will not admit to herself that she already has a real interest in the opposite sex, an interest which is explained by the first sexual emotions. But she deceives others still more because, regarding this interest in the opposite sex as something wrong and unseemly, she carefully endeavours to hide it from her parents. There is scarcely a woman who, during this period and the 'flapper'years' which follow, has not had harmless 'love-letters,' and 'secret rendezvous,' on the way to school, at the skating pond, or somewhere of the sort. Now begin those lies which are characteristic of woman.

The young girl is now physically mature in the sense that she is capable of reproduction, but she is still very far from maturity in the psychological sense. Indeed it is just during the so-called flapper period that the girl shows least seriousness, depth of knowledge, and consciousness of her own ego. This 'flapper' period is often compared with the hobbledehoy period in the boy, but there is really a very great difference between the two. The boy is wild, untamable, and irresponsible, and if free from restraint indulges in the maddest pranks and practical jokes. The girl's energy is all directed towards one single aim – to become ever more beautiful, clever, and conspicuous; to attract the attention of the world in general, her teachers, and especially the opposite sex. This dominant impulse is undoubtedly intimately connected with sex; more so than ever before. Physical maturity naturally brings with it the beginning of sex life and awakens its first stirrings, no matter how forcibly they are repressed. Vanity has until now been confined to the smaller details of external appearance, but now leads to that particular stupidity which dominates woman throughout the whole of her life – subservience to fashion. A few pieces of finery no longer satisfy the flapper; she must keep up with the fashion. All her sisters are dumb blind slaves of this invisible power, and she too bows willingly, even eagerly, beneath its heavy yoke. Vanity changes into a passion for beautifying herself, and now this is not confined to dress but is extended to the body as a whole. This is manifested among Europeans by the use of rouge, lip-salve, etc., as among the Chinese by the deliberate and forcible stunting and binding of the bones of the foot. In China a properly-shaped foot would dismay a young girl as much as freckles would among us! The custom of compressing the breasts or the use of corsets to produce a slim figure stands on the same level as the Hottentot custom of flattening the nose. Both aim at improving the normal body by artifice. We might also mention those examples, quoted in Book I, of an artificial obesity (steatopygy) such as is customary among the tribes of the West Coast of the Victoria Nyanza. They are all just silly fashions, and all fashions, even those of the male sex, have ultimately a purely sexual basis. We must attribute the flapper's sudden regard for fashion to the awakening of sex. One has only to think how girls of the better classes nowadays go in for sport. Many a young girl, even when she finds no pleasure in it, eagerly takes up ski-ing and sleighing only because it is fashionable. Many a pale anæmic girl swims for hours in the sea, or undertakes arduous mountaineering in the heat and glare of the sun, not at all because she finds any pleasure in it, but simply because it is fashionable. The doctor may point out the harmfulness of over-indulgence

in sport, but fashion will win, in spite of all his knowledge and influence, and he will merely be regarded as 'old-fashioned.'

It would be a mistake to believe that the peculiarities of the young girl just mentioned are only to be found in the so-called better classes. The servant, the factory girl, is just as subservient to fashion as the girl of the highest class. Even the peasant in the village cannot withstand the attractions which she sees among the city people. She leaves her parents' house in the village, in order to go into service in the city; not only into service in the sense of earning money, but also into the service of fashion. It is characteristic of the flapper that she strives unceasingly to be ultra-fashionable. She wants to be conspicuous! So that if fashion decrees that the skirt shall be worn as low as the ankle, then it will reach far below the ankle of the flapper. This spirit of excess and exaggeration is transferred to other departments of life. This is the period of the gushing enthusiasm for everything novel. Every singer, male or female, every actor or actress, every one in the lime-light, always has a large crowd of enthusiastic female followers consisting mostly of flappers. Nothing is so 'charming,' nothing so 'heavenly,' nothing so 'lovely,' nothing so 'wonderful,' as the admired actor, even though perhaps he scarcely favours the flapper with a glance. The love of art in general and of the theatre in particular is characteristic of these years. It is certainly, to some extent, based on the gradually growing desire for improvement, but it is also an expression of the awakening of sex. Because it is sexual, this gushing enthusiasm is easily directed towards the teacher, the preacher, or the actor. But the sexual life of the flapper will be dealt with in Book III.

We mentioned previously that vanity, the desire to please, and coquetry were directed towards the male sex. It is only for him that the maiden 'does herself up'; only on his account does she want to be beautiful; it is the male whom she wants to please. But pleasing is not enough! The girl also wishes to make an impression on the male and conquer him. And for this purpose nothing is too extravagant. Even as a flapper the girl develops a certain technique for impressing on the male that she must ever be wooed and won anew. As the girl becomes more mature the technique becomes more elaborate; she always tries to attract the male but varies her methods in accordance with the response of the victim. It is as though she already obtained a certain sort of satisfaction in finding as many victims as possible. Here, too, she manifests a certain rivalry with her companions. She has a passion for collecting as many admirers as possible even though none of them has made the slightest impression on her. Full of high spirits and with a frivolity peculiar to this age, the flapper prides herself only on the *number* of her victims. Sentiment will come later. This passion

for 'conquests' is ethically to be deplored, but it is encouraged by public opinion. Even the most intelligent mother seems to like to see her daughter with more admirers than other girls. The mother enjoys her daughter's conquests; she recalls her own lost youth and swells with pride. Who would suspect that this too has a purely sexual basis? But of that later.

CHAPTER III

THE GIRL IN MATURITY

GRADUALLY the flapper tones down. Her exaggerations are modified and serious interests engage more of her attention. She now becomes a 'young lady'; frivolity gradually disappears; she becomes serious and more conscious of her destiny as a woman. Whether she is the idle daughter of wealthy parents or has to work for her living, she now becomes more and more conscious that her real vocation is that of wife and mother. This seriousness affects her whole character and shows itself in her behaviour. The desire for knowledge of the facts of life, which has up to now been based on idle curiosity, gives place to a deep longing to understand life as it really is. Every woman has an unconscious conviction that she is meant to be happy. Whereas the male, from childhood onwards, realises that his whole life, or at least the best years of it, are bound to be taken up with work and worry, woman does not believe in thinking about the grey side of life. This is so at least among us civilised peoples. But among savage races, the woman is regarded almost as a slave and has to wait on the man all her life. A negro maiden never dreams of any other fate. But we are dealing primarily with the civilised woman, with whom it is quite different.

It becomes clearer and clearer to the girl that motherhood and marriage are the real vocation of a woman, the lot decreed for her by Nature. Up to now she has been care-free, high-spirited, and playful, but now she suddenly begins to think seriously about her real vocation. Even though she remains the blind slave of those innate feminine characteristics, coquetry, love of finery, and subservience to fashion, there is a certain improvement even in this respect. She still thinks that she ought to keep up with fashion, and does so willingly, and she still remains anxious to please. But whereas the passion to please was previously almost indiscriminate, now it is canalised in one direction; she wants to please only the man who will make her a woman and be the father of her children. She still maintains her attitude of rivalry towards her companions, but she manifests more earnestness in thought, feeling, and conduct. Now she begins to try and make an impression not only by her looks but also by her intellect and character. She wants to become a useful member of society in case the right man never appears. It is only when a girl has reached full mental development that she begins to envisage other possibilities in life beside marriage. Formerly girls were brought up to think of marriage as the only possible career, but nowadays even well-to-do parents usually educate them so that they will be able, if necessary, to

support themselves. However, they can never be completely independent of the male sex.

We have now come to a subject which must be discussed in some detail – the world-wide question of emancipation (the Feminist Movement). This movement, like all other movements in their early stages, has gone too far. Its early leaders, who were of course women, chose as their slogan: 'Freedom from man!' (*Los vom Manne*). Such an ideal is fortunately impossible. In *Sex and Character*, Weininger regards the mental life and character of a woman as compounded of two elements, M and W – i.e. of male and female elements – one of which predominates. There is much truth in this theory. In every woman, even the most feminine, there are always certain characteristics which must be described as typically masculine. It is on the degree of development of this masculine element that the possibility of developing a really masculine strength and independence rests. All the extremists in the Feminist Movement, with their cry of 'Freedom from Man!' took delight in wearing their hair short, and sometimes even smoked fat cigars. Although essentially women they had enough M, in Weininger's sense, to make them wish to have nothing to do with men. This was possible because they felt themselves to be typically masculine, but they should not have forgotten that the majority of women have a predominance of W, and remain true women. What was all very well for these 'men-women' was not suitable for their sisters. If we examine the question without prejudice we have to admit that all knowledge, all really great achievements, have always been due to men, either directly or indirectly. Even if 'Freedom from Man!' were possible to a chosen few, the fact remains that the teachers and leaders of every serious calling are, and always have been, men. This excludes, of course, purely feminine handicrafts.

I hope that I have not given the impression that I am an anti-feminist. I am not. I agree that women must be free and independent. None the less I remain absolutely opposed to the unjustifiable slogan 'Freedom from Man!' and in this view I am in agreement with the most distinguished thinkers and scientists of the age. Let the woman have independence; let the woman keep her independence; let the young girl lose no opportunity of laying the foundation of such an independence; but all this only within reason, within the limits of those vocations which are in keeping with the nature of woman, with her physical constitution, and with her powers of resistance. Even if, say, a woman doctor were to outstrip hundreds of her colleagues in ability, industry, and knowledge, still, if she is operating and a severe hæmorrhage occurs, she will inevitably fail in the crisis. She must

prove a failure because at this critical moment when quick and decisive action is necessary, the latent M, as Weininger calls it, seems suddenly to disappear. If it should be objected that I have chosen an extreme example, I am prepared to meet this objection by another illustration. There is not a single woman, no matter in what condition of life she is, who is not physically and mentally below par at the time of her monthly period![1] To return to the case of the woman doctor, suppose it happens that she is having her periods and suffering from severe pain on this account, how can we expect her to get out of her bed in the middle of the night and go out in wind and weather in order to attend to a patient suffering perhaps from a bad toothache! She will not get up, not because she is unwilling, but because she is unable – W conquers M; the purely physical W conquers the mental M. It is primarily the physical constitution, the natural physical processes of woman, which limit the professions or vocations suitable for herself. But these limits are, after all, not so narrow. There are plenty of openings. Thus woman always remains woman in spite of the emancipation movement. We shall have to return to this problem in Book III, where we shall see that the sexual life of woman also makes it almost impossible for her to pursue many professions with undivided energy.

After this short digression we return to our subject. The mature girl becomes more serious and begins to acquire a better standard of values. The world and Nature both demand that she should fulfil her destiny, and gradually this serious conception of life changes her attitude to the people around her. Instead of mere curiosity and a hankering after sensation which she evinced as a flapper, she now desires to attain to a true understanding of life and to learn from it. The flapper liked to hear about her friends' love affairs because *risqué* conversations thrilled her, but now the girl likes to hear the experiences of her married friends in order to learn something from them; even though it may be merely sex gossip.

She awaits eagerly the return of her friend from the honeymoon so that she may hear all about it. Is this merely curiosity, or is it not also a serious desire for knowledge? This desire for knowledge must be

[1]Editor's Note. May not this be due largely to suggestion? Most girls are taught that they will be more or less 'unwell' at the time of menstruation. One of my patients, a woman University lecturer, tells me that she always feels *better*, physically and mentally, at the time of her periods; and she ascribes this to the fact that her mother prepared her for menstruation by telling her that it was a monthly purification, in which all the impurities of her body would be discharged, and that as long as she menstruated regularly she would know that she was in good health.

described as quite characteristic, and is due to the fact that every girl has the same ultimate object – marriage. I am fully convinced that every girl, at this stage of her life, has an indefinable impulse to acquire a certain technique for dealing with men, or rather 'the man.' She now hears almost every day from some woman friend how important it is for success in life to 'handle men properly'; and now the problem is somehow and somewhere to learn 'the proper way' as well as the 'handling' itself. But there is really no such thing as 'learning' in this matter. All the teaching in the world does not help her when the right man comes along. The young girl finds that it is quite different from what she has been led to expect.

To this growing seriousness, curiosity, and clarity of purpose, is now added a mental unrest. The explanation of this is also to be found in sex. We should remember that biologically the young girl was sexually mature at the time of her first period, and that every succeeding period causes more or less emotional disturbance which is shown by the depression which usually accompanies it. The result may be serious if the depression is severe and sexual experience is too long delayed. The girl who has so far been quite happy suffers a severe emotional conflict, which leads to a feeling of discontent and inferiority, and perhaps even to a condition of melancholia. However rigid our views on the bringing up of girls and on free love may be, there is no doubt that at this age sex is the dominating factor in the life of the fully developed girl. It always has been and always will be more powerful than all social or religious taboos. The psychologist must never lose sight of this fact. The well-brought-up and modest girl always endeavours to conceal every trace of physical feeling, and her real or pretended innocence may deceive the superficial observer. But the scientist must never forget how great an influence the awakening of sex exerts on the emotional life. When sexuality has awakened but is repressed, the results are still more serious.

It is sex too which is at the bottom of all the psychic changes which are manifested when the girl becomes engaged to be married. All the things about which she was hitherto forbidden even to think, are now soon to become a reality. The great secret of love, the great secret of the purpose of her existence as a woman, is at last to be solved – solved with the connivance and approval of the whole world, and by 'him,' the chosen one. Up to now she has had to be blind and ignorant, or at least to pretend so, but now the world, 'the good kind world,' allows her to put an end to this deception. It really has been nothing but pretence and self-deception which was demanded by the world! Modesty is not natural – it has been deliberately incul-

cated. Let us merely reflect that many things which we civilised peoples regard as shameful are accepted naturally by most primitive peoples. It would be a great mistake to consider primitive peoples coarse because their idea of modesty is not the same as ours. It is not immodest for these people to run about naked and carry out the excretory functions, and even the sexual act, quite openly in public. It only appears immodest to us because we are accustomed to designate everything in any way connected with sexual life or with the genital organs as 'wrong,' 'immodest,' 'vulgar.' We are accustomed deliberately to deceive ourselves and everybody else in this respect, at least until after marriage, when the blessing of the Church renders everything suddenly permissible. The young girl, therefore, is only modest because it is expected of her; she must blush only because she has been taught to do so; and the more modest she is, the better the world thinks her and the more desirable she appears to her future husband. This convention positively leads to hypocrisy and self-deception. Even though a young girl may know 'everything' from reading or from the accounts of friends, she always pretends that in spite of her nineteen years she knows no more than a six-year-old child. She casts her eyes down modestly, to conceal her real feelings. What is the poor girl to do? In the eyes of the world there is nothing more contemptible or unworthy than an immodest girl! The world demands modesty; in God's name let them have it! 'He' too wants his future wife to be innocent and 'modest' and so she acts the part. This deliberately simulated modesty and the acting which is inevitably involved are not only found in the better classes. It is just as common in girls of the lower classes and among peasants, though perhaps in a modified form. Whereas a girl of the best society can keep up this pretence for months on end, the peasant girl soon tires of it; and while the former must keep up the farce until she is married, the latter listens to the voice of Nature and disregards conventional decorum at a much earlier age.

And yet this modesty has a certain value. I do not, of course, mean to condone deliberate hypocrisy. But as a result of this convention, a girl is led to realise that she should remain chaste, at least physically, for the man who is one day to be the father of her children. I say *chaste at least physically*. For no fully developed girl is mentally chaste if the knowledge of sexual and erotic matters is to be called unchaste. But the world quite unjustly persists in so calling it. If only parents and teachers could be brought to see that the sound knowledge of fundamental natural processes is much better than deliberate hypocrisy!

In spite of all this, feminine modesty is of quite immeasurable

importance as an erotic stimulus to the male. This is an indubitable fact about which whole volumes have been written. In the twenty-sixth chapter of his study *De L'Amour*, Stendhal expresses himself on this subject as follows:[1]

'Clearly three-quarters of modesty comes from example. It is perhaps the one law, born of civilisation, which produces nothing but happiness. People have noticed that birds of prey hide themselves to drink; the reason being that, obliged to plunge their heads in water, they are at the moment defenceless. After a consideration of what happens in Tahiti, I see no other natural basis for modesty.

'Love is the miracle of civilisation. There is nothing but a physical love of the coarsest kind amongst savages or barbarous peoples. Modesty gives love the food of imagination, and therefore gives it life.

'Modesty is taught to little girls very early by their mothers with such zealous care that it almost looks like fellow-feeling; in this way women take measures in good time for the happiness of the lover to come.

'There can be nothing worse for a timid sensitive woman than the torture of having, in the presence of a man, allowed herself something for which she thinks she ought to blush; I am convinced that a woman with a little pride would sooner face a thousand deaths. The small liberty which touches a soft corner in the lover's heart, gives her a moment of lively pleasure, but if he seem to blame it, or simply not enjoy it to the utmost, it must leave in the soul an agonising doubt. And so a woman above the common sort has everything to gain by being very reserved in her manner. The gain is not very fair; against the chance of a little pleasure or the advantage of seeming a little more lovable, a woman runs the risk of a burning remorse and a sense of shame which must make even the lover less dear. An evening gaily passed in a devil-may-care thoughtless fashion is dearly paid for at the price. If a woman fears that she has made this kind of mistake before her lover, he must become, for days together, hateful in her sight. Can one wonder at the force of a habit, when the lightest infractions of it are punished with such cruel shame?

'As for the utility of modesty – she is the mother of love; impossible therefore to doubt her claims. And for the mechanism of the sentiment – it is simple enough. The soul is busy feeling shame instead

[1] Translators' Note. – Stendhal has been translated into English by P. S. Woolf (Duckworth). Mr. Woolf's translation is used in this quotation.

of desiring. You deny yourself desires and the desires lead to actions.

'Evidently every woman of feeling and pride – and these two things being cause and effect, one can hardly go without the other – must fall into ways of coldness, which the people whom they disconcert call prudery. . . . Such is the empire of modesty that a woman of feeling betrays her sentiments for her lover sooner by deed than by word. . . .

' . . . The drawback of modesty is that it is always leading to falsehood. . . .'

So much then for modesty at present; we shall have to return to it in Book III.

With the awakening of the first real affection – I deliberately refrain from using the word love – with the recognition that some man who has now come into her life will later become her mate, her protector, her husband, and the father of her children, a great change occurs in the mental life of every woman. Everything connected with sexuality in the broadest sense of the word now interests her unconsciously, while she is quite consciously interested in everything connected with maternity. This is true even of the girl who has entered into sexual relations with a man outside marriage, and where there is no question of marriage – even such a woman regards her lover as her protector and guide. It is not only that she cares for him but also that she longs to bear him a child. The maternal instinct awakens and with it the ambition to be a worthy mate and good wife.

So far the feelings are altruistic, but selfish motives are also involved. The girl longs to be free at last from all the restraints imposed on her both by parents and others. She longs to be able to live her own life without having to account to anyone save herself and her husband. This longing for independence brings about many a marriage without any real love. The girl – especially as the years advance – is tired of always being watched and criticised, of having no freedom and doing only what pleases others. She is apt to forget that even as a wife she will still have certain responsibilities, though it is true only towards one person. This responsibility is not onerous if there is real unity between the pair; again I intentionally avoid using the word love, which usually means only mutual sexual attraction. The feeling of oneness [1] even without 'love,' may so fuse two human

[1] Translator's Note. – The German word is *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl* – literally 'the feeling of belonging to each other.' This phrase is too cumbrous to be used repeatedly (Dr. Bauer uses the word frequently in the course of the book), and we have not been able to find any one English word

beings into one that each will sacrifice selfish aims for the sake of mutual happiness.

The young girl has now reached what is called 'marriageable age.' If we analyse this expression we see that it is meaningless; for biologically a girl is marriageable as soon as she is physically capable of motherhood, and this depends not on convention, but on the attainment of physical maturity with the beginning of menstruation. We find too that this 'marriageable age' tends to vary among different peoples and at different times. Girls of the coloured races begin to have sexual intercourse in about their eighth or ninth year, and marry with more or less elaborate ceremonies at the onset of the first menstrual period. This custom is just as deliberate as that of marrying at eighteen or nineteen is among ourselves. In the wider sense a girl is of 'marriageable age' when she has attained full consciousness of the great and glorious part which Nature now calls upon her to assume. She should not seek in marriage merely freedom from restraint and an opportunity to realise her day-dreams. The purpose of her common life with the man of her choice should be the bearing of children. The race must not only be continued, its quality must be maintained. Every young woman should bear in mind that she fulfils her natural destiny completely, only if she takes her part in the improvement and ennoblement of the human race.

Although betrothal seldom awakens such serious reflections in the mind of the woman, it nearly always brings about a considerable change in her emotional life. The question of accommodating herself to the thoughts and habits of her future husband are overshadowed by a fear mingled with slumbering curiosity about the approaching change in her life. This fear combined with the erotic feelings brings about a condition in which the emotional balance is upset. The whole period of engagement is entirely given up to sexual feelings, as I shall point out in Book III. It is this sexual component which awakens a new feeling in every woman; it is always denied, but it is always present. I mean the feeling of jealousy latent in every woman and which is at bottom purely sexual. It seems logical to every woman that the man to whom she gives herself for the *first time*, to whom she offers her virginity, must not and dare not belong to any other female creature. This feeling is quite impervious to all biological proofs that

as expressive as the compound German expression. We have used either 'union,' 'intimate union,' 'mating,' 'oneness,' or 'affection,' whichever seemed most suitable in the particular context, but it will assist the reader if he remembers that when these words occur, they represent an inadequate, and we fear in some cases ugly, attempt to translate the word *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl.*

human beings are polygamous. But does jealousy arise only from love? Is there not also a component of fear of losing the loved one – fear that some more attractive woman may be able to arouse sexual desire in the man?

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Now let us turn to those changes in the mental life which result from marriage itself, and especially from the sexual activity which now begins. The latter factor is the really important one, and to-day pre-marital intercourse is becoming progressively more widespread. Conventional ethics still condemn such lapses from chastity, but the student of sexual science must examine the question carefully, before coming to a conclusion. Should mature human beings be condemned for satisfying a strong natural impulse, because they have not entered into the artificial bonds prescribed by Church or State? Has anyone the right to interfere in the sexual life of other human beings, so long as these do not cause any injury to other persons? If we think it right to bring animals together because they are in heat, can we consistently demand complete sexual repression in adult men and women? Unfortunately those who answer these questions most readily and most emphatically are often, through ignorance or prejudice, least qualified to express an opinion.

I have no desire to encourage promiscuity or unchastity, but the subject is one which needs careful and impartial consideration with special regard to the conditions of civilised society to-day.

The first act of sexual intercourse, the defloration, makes a deep impression on the mind of woman. Whether or not she is conscious of the awakening of her repressed sexual desires, every girl looks forward with fear and trembling to that hour which will bring the loss of that so long guarded, so long defended possession – virginity! This is an imaginary possession so far as spiritual virginity is concerned; but a real possession if we think only of the physical anatomical virginity implied by an unruptured hymen. And the young girl's fear is only for this anatomical virginity, which is so highly esteemed and so insisted on by men. The almost morbid fear of losing physical virginity causes the young girl in numberless cases to do and permit everything except – 'that.' Thus we have the '*demi-vierge*' who deceives both herself and the rest of the world.

The young girl has heard from other women such exaggerated accounts of the pain and agony of the first coitus, the defloration, that it is only natural that fear of purely physical pain is associated with her curiosity and desire. There is a conflict between desire and fear, between love and self-preservation. A serious emotional conflict from which, however, there is no escape, for Eros rules! . . .

And when the first act of sexual intercourse is over, she is usually disillusioned and disappointed. She has expected the most wonder-

ful feelings, the most intensely voluptuous sensations. '*Is this all?*' Is this all, only this mixture of pain and slight pleasure; is this the goal of everyone's ambition? . . . And yet she is happy at having given herself to her beloved, at having been made a woman by him. This banishes all pain and disappointment.

The gradual awakening and increase of sexual pleasure do not, until later, produce in the woman trust, gratitude, and devotion to her husband; a self-renunciation, a feeling of spiritual union intimately connected with the physical union. Her modesty undergoes a change; the desire to please all men, which has existed up to now, is replaced by the wish to please her husband and him alone. Though serious thoughts about the future, and the possibility of motherhood, may disturb her, they yield to an almost child-like joy, when she is alone with her husband and realises that she is at last alone with *the* man to whom she has *willingly* given herself. Even when the honeymoon has not been sanctified by the Church, it often remains the most wonderful time and the most beautiful memory in the life of the woman.

Now for the young wife. The sudden responsibilities of housekeeping and looking after the husband are apt to be described by her as excessive. This is because the young wife wishes to be thought indispensable. In reality, responsibilities of this sort cannot be called cares; they are the natural duty of a woman, just as much as the bearing of children. More important than these 'cares' is another mental activity, namely the necessary adaptation of the woman to her husband's habits and outlook. For without this, without a certain degree of self-suppression, a successful common life between two people who have hitherto led separate lives, is impossible. Great praise is due to the woman because she is usually more adaptable than the man. This requires a sort of magnanimity, for sometimes incredible demands are made on the woman. But does she really always comply with them? Does she not merely seem to do so while managing things so tactfully and astutely that it is really the man who gives way without realising that he has been beguiled? How women acquire this skill is a mystery. But men perceive the triviality of the matters usually involved and so often give in. Why not let the woman have the pleasure of thinking she has conquered? But both should learn to give and take, for they expect to live together for a long time and to have a family. When the woman becomes pregnant, then it is certainly the man who gives in, because the woman at this time is subject to considerable emotional strain. At no time in a woman's life is she so emotionally unstable as during the period of pregnancy. The feelings which are evoked by the child within her are so holy and so much more sublime than any other human emotions that the pregnant

woman becomes a sort of saint. She is sanctified, since it is through her that Nature performs its greatest miracle. Her happiness and spiritual satisfaction that she has conceived, and is about to bear a child, weave a sort of halo about the woman. The light-hearted or even frivolous girl now becomes serious, and, under all circumstances, worthy of reverence. The love for the little life which is generating within her body is so great that it supersedes all other feelings. I say this deliberately because I have frequently found that a girl who has become pregnant out of wedlock, and therefore has only to expect shame and contumely from the world, cries bitterly when for some reason or other she loses her child. The love for the unborn child marks the dawn of that maternal instinct which is the most sublime of all emotions. This love fills the pregnant woman with anxieties about the child she is expecting. Her solicitude and fear lest the child should not be strong and healthy are greater than her fear for herself in the hour of confinement. She takes care of herself, does things or refrains from doing them, not from consideration for herself, but out of a solicitude for the babe in her womb. The two most ecstatic moments in a woman's life are the one in the middle of pregnancy when she feels the first fluttering of the child within her, and that in which she hears the first cry of the newly born child.

It would be quite wrong to believe that the changes we have described as taking place after marriage are due entirely to defloration and the beginning of sexual intercourse. All these purely external circumstances are unimportant compared to the great conflict, which arises in the woman during the first years of marriage, and which is based upon a deliberate systematic deception. The blame for this deception must be ascribed, not to the girl herself, but to the world, to her immediate environment – and above all to her mother! It was her mother who was always preaching that a chaste, modest, respectable girl never had any erotic feelings, and enjoined the girl, even at the time of the wedding, not to cheapen herself in the eyes of her husband. The girl is really thirsting for sexual gratification, but the mother has taught her to conceal this and is proud if the son-in-law happens to say that her daughter on the wedding night 'was absolutely innocent and knew nothing at all.' What a gross deception! What a crime! Where to-day is the girl who 'does not know anything'? To-day things are quite different from what they were in the time of our grandmothers, and a man rightly demands that his wife shall be more than a mere housekeeper to look after his socks and laundry. Let us frankly admit that the first thing a man requires of his wife is that she should be his mistress, belonging exclusively to him and sharing *with him* all sexual desires. He has probably already experi-

enced sexual delights as a bachelor and has sown his wild oats; now he wants to live, love, and enjoy further. In spite of all the precepts of society, Church, and State, he has a right to direct his wife's sexual education as he chooses. With tact he may easily succeed in this, but only if she is understanding, and if, discarding all the 'wise lessons' of her careful mother, she gives herself without hypocrisy and prudery and frankly admits her sexual desires when they exist. There is a conflict between 'I'd like to' and 'I mustn't,' between the fear of degrading herself in the eyes of her husband and the desire for sexual enjoyment. Her mother taught her one thing – her husband desires the opposite. If she frankly avows her sexual feelings, then the first period of the married life lays the basis for a really happy marriage, with the husband as teacher and the wife as an apt pupil. But disaster ensues if the woman clings to the hard and fast ascetic ideal inculcated by her mother. Only too often the husband gives up trying to find satisfaction from his wife, abandons his fruitless attempts at her sexual education, and returns, more quickly than is generally thought, to the arms of a mistress who willingly offers him everything. Here he finds sexual satisfaction in a woman who gives all and denies nothing. Away then with this deception, with all this false calculating duplicity, away with all prudery, and thousands of marriages will be happier.

What happens to the mental life of a woman who forms a sexual relationship with a man without the sanction of the Church and State? Every such woman, no matter how great her love and sexual desire, is tortured by fear and self-reproach, regrets her step, and considers the loss of virginity an irreparable disaster. The fear of disgrace spoils all her happiness.

At no period of her life is a woman more easily influenced by stupid superstitions and 'old wives' tales' than during pregnancy. She believes everything that any old woman tells her, no matter how silly, and anything which is said to harm the child she avoids. The woman sometimes appears during pregnancy to have lost all her healthy common sense and power of judgment. This is true at least of the first pregnancy. She is in fear and trembling for and about the child and about the dangers of the confinement, which may be complicated and lead to her death. At the same time she longs more and more to be embraced and petted by the father of the coming child, and is hypersensitive to every harsh word or sharp look.

We find that the woman's psychic state varies enormously according to whether the pregnancy was or was not desired. In the one case she is enraptured at being able to present her beloved with a child, at becoming a whole woman, and proving her worth by fulfilling her

destiny. In the other case she is despondent and unhappy at her 'bad luck.' It is noteworthy that among the wealthier classes over-civilisation has produced a fear of bearing children. The modern woman of the better classes wants, in the early years of marriage, 'to enjoy life properly'; she wishes to participate in all the pleasures which were forbidden to her as a girl. This false egoism is unknown to the peasant or to the woman of the lower or middle classes. Among them, egoism expresses itself in the desire for a child. But this difference is even more marked in the case of an extra-marital relationship. Only a woman who can ignore conventional prejudices and the hostile judgment of the world, and is filled with the highest idealism and the deepest love, can take upon herself the odium of unmarried motherhood with any joy and eagerness. I believe I am not wrong in asserting that there are very few such women, and that the overwhelming majority (about nine-tenths) of all illegitimate children are only born because the woman did not know, or could not find, any means of bringing about an abortion.

All the general emotional disturbances which have already been mentioned cause the woman, especially during the first weeks of pregnancy, a good deal of mental suffering. It is a mistake which is too frequently committed, to regard all these mental fluctuations as mere moods or imagination, especially because they are alternated with periods of good spirits. This is untrue. The woman herself suffers from her condition more than anyone else, and would most gladly be normal again, but she cannot banish this depression from her consciousness. No matter how great the joy at the 'quickening,' the leaden fear of the hour of travail hovers like a spectre above her, sleeping or waking. This fear increases as confinement approaches, but so does her joy at the coming of the child. This conflict is natural and comprehensible. But when the first pains begin, she loses all power of resistance; it seems as if all energy and will power suddenly leave her. Racked by pain she yet bears the long hours of labour better than one could expect. It is difficult to realise the intensity of labour pains even approximately; one must have watched by a woman in labour many times in order to get any conception of their severity.

There is no doubt that the physical agony is augmented by psychological factors. Many cases are recorded in which women have actually gone insane during childbirth; not only, or at any rate, not primarily, on account of the *physical* pain. All her nearest and dearest are driven off as though it was their fault that the pains are so bad. Even the beloved husband, whose child she is about to bear, fills her with hatred and disgust. The woman in childbirth does not want to see or hear her husband. She regards him as the cause of all her

suffering, and forgets that she too longed for the child. She curses her husband, marriage, and sexual intercourse; the obstetrician always hears the stereotyped phrase 'Never again!' But we know quite well that she will forget her resolve once the pains are over.

All the agony is forgotten in an instant at the first cry of the new-born child. The woman has become a mother and the happiest stage of her life has begun. She is like a new being. All the care and attention, formerly lavished upon herself, all the vanity and desire to please, are now transferred on to the little being whom the mother regards as the most beautiful and lovable creature in the world. Every mother has the most beautiful child; and every mother always tries to make it even more beautiful, if that were possible! At the same time every mother is rather inclined to consider the birth of the child a great achievement, as if she alone was capable of such a miracle. Women should realise that it is their duty to be mothers. Nature has decreed it. Only by motherhood can they fulfil their destiny. The highest emancipation of woman has for its motto not 'Freedom from Man!' or 'Freedom from Children!' but rather: 'Everything for the Child.'

It is an incontestable fact that a childless marriage is really only half a marriage. The feeling of oneness[1] between man and wife, the feeling of living for and with one another, are perfected only by the child. Only maternity can bring the mental life of a woman to full flower. However fine a woman she was before, she was emotionally somewhat unstable, but through motherhood her character is stabilised and ennobled. Maternal love, unlike the love based on sex, is entirely disinterested. The woman suddenly displays a capacity for self-renunciation and self-forgetfulness hitherto absent even in her relations with her husband. It is as though her whole character were completely transformed. The forbearance, self-forgetfulness, and self-denial are extended to all about her. She becomes almost superhuman when the welfare, happiness, or life of her child are at stake. No matter how clinging and dependent she may have been previously, she now becomes firm and resolute when the child's interests are involved. Observe a woman by the sick-bed of her child. Maternal love, patience, will-power, and an iron determination to save her child, make her insensible to her own fatigue or suffering. This patience and capacity for self-sacrifice are typically feminine virtues and can never be remotely approached by a man.

[1] See Note on p. 137.

CHAPTER V

THE LATER STAGES OF A WOMAN'S LIFE

THE great improvement in the woman's character which we noted at the end of the last chapter, does not persist. Though her attitude towards the child remains the same, she relapses in her other relationships. Very soon she begins to manifest her old characteristics. To the vanity, desire to please, passion for finery, and subservience to fashion, is now added a thirst for pleasure. She seems to think that she has done such service to her husband and to humanity that she is entitled to enjoy her life to the full. If this is impossible and she is obliged to work, she feels that she has a grievance, and is apt to regard the child as a burden. She compares herself, quite unreasonably, with other women who are more 'fortunately' placed. This is a typically feminine characteristic seldom found in men. Even though a man may desire to improve his lot in life, he has not that secret hatred and envy of others more fortunate than himself, which is latent in every woman. The woman wants to be as beautiful, as rich, as well-dressed, and as care-free, as any other woman. She forgets that there are thousands whose lot is much worse than her own. Every woman envies her more fortunate sisters, instead of appreciating the advantages which she enjoys. The explanation of this is to be found in vanity, the desire to please, regard for appearances, and a false set of values. These typically feminine qualities may even make her a criminal, or may make a criminal of the man who loves her, no matter how honest he may be by nature. The same factors are responsible for the essential superficiality of women. Serious thought for anything but the immediate present is foreign to her; she lives always for the pleasure of the moment. *Carpe diem* is woman's motto, and this tendency increases with age. The older a woman grows, the vainer she becomes; the less attractive she is, the more she longs to be attractive; the older she becomes the more youthful she wishes to appear – and she does not hesitate to employ the arts of the toilet-table to gain her end. In later life too, the tendency to lying, latent in every woman, becomes more evident. She no longer lies only to deceive others; she deceives herself as well. When she has spent hours at her mirror making herself up to look youthful, she begins to believe that she is really young again. The energy and ingenuity which she displays in the attainment of this aim, are amazing. In order to appear young, she will lie about her own age and even be willing to disown her children. She will do anything to make herself seem younger and more attractive, or to make some other woman seem older or less attractive. Again we note her envy of those more fortunate;

now she is envious of the youth which she has lost and can never recover.

Thus the life of the mature woman appears to be devoted entirely to self-beautification and egoism; she leads an egocentric existence. In this she is unfortunately encouraged by public opinion, for she knows quite well the effect of her personal appearance on others is the only thing that counts. She knows that she can exercise a certain influence by means of her personal beauty and perhaps also by her character. But she also knows quite well – though she will never admit it – that, ultimately, this influence is purely sexual. Coquetry and charm serve to conceal sheer eroticism, and to give her an advantage over her fellows. This advantage may not be personal, but may relate to her husband's position. It is the woman who urges the man on to new efforts; she is always dissatisfied with his social position. She always wants to be more important or at least to appear so. Woman is a social climber. There is a never-ending contest going on between women for beauty and power.

This contest is approved, and indeed encouraged, by the world, and has been responsible for the great part which women have played in History. The influence of women in politics is not to be attributed to their mental power. Was Madame Pompadour's enormous influence due to her superiority in ability and intelligence over all the men of her age? We know quite well that it depended on her beauty. She turned the heads of diplomatists by her sexual charm. Driven by ambition, she won the favour of Louis XV, and as his mistress dominated the affairs of government and disposed of offices and dignities. She was largely responsible for the attack of France on Austria, which led to the Seven Years' War. Ministers and diplomats were powerless against the influence she wielded over the King in the bed-chamber.

Has not the history of all wars, including the last Great War, shown us what women can do? Whenever it was necessary to 'pull strings,' women spent hours before the mirror making the most of their beauty; for they knew that, in the office of some powerful personage, their smile would do more than all the influential men put together. The world *wants* to be deceived by appearances, and no one realises or exploits this fact so cleverly as the ambitious woman. She knows that beauty is her only weapon, and this is why she seeks to preserve it as long as she can. This is why she refuses to grow old, and devotes all her energies to fashion and adornment. This is true of all classes, all peoples, and all periods of history.

The woman does not wait for her beauty to begin to fade, before opening the campaign against the ravages of age. It is never too early to begin. She fears the loss of beauty more than physical suffering,

more even than death. Any other view would seem to her unnatural. The older she becomes, the more tenaciously she clings to youth. She not only wants to appear younger than she actually is, she wants to look like a young girl, and she ends by appearing ridiculous. Think of the silly way in which many women dress! How stupid it is to assume that people are so easily deceived by appearances. Out of politeness they may pretend to be so, but behind the woman's back, they strip her of her borrowed finery. She is left naked and unadorned, an ageing woman, without her rouge and tinsel! All these artifices are quite futile. They deceive nobody except the woman herself.

But it is fruitless to criticise her. Woman has always been the same, and will always remain so. Regard for external appearances, and not a fixity of purpose based on nobility of character, dominates woman's life.

All these typically feminine character-traits are manifested whether there is any real call for them or not. Even in her prime she already begins to fear and plan for the future. Instead of renewing her youth in that of her daughter, she is tormented by the thought that she herself is growing older. Yet a woman remains young as long as she has the sense to retain her youthful spirits and joy in life. Only too seldom do we meet with old ladies who understand this art, who, despite their grey hairs, have more charm and joy in life than many women in their prime.

No period of a woman's life seems more calculated to make her completely happy than her prime. She has usually attained all that she could wish for. She is provided for, either by her own work or by her husband. She is, or at least should be, at the highest point of her mental development. She has usually secured what women prize most – the recognition and esteem of the world, and the more or less open admiration of men. It is this last factor to which the woman herself attaches most weight. There is no woman in whose life at least *one* man has not played a part. Even those men-women at the head of the women's movement (whom Wolzogen so well called 'the third sex'), display vanity and coquetry in their relations with men. In spite of their conviction, and their attempts to convince others, that the world would be better without men, they always gravitate towards men in the end. Sooner or later each of them finds a man. Many of them have one at the very time when they are denouncing men most loudly. Let us be quite frank. Woman lives only through man and for man. Her self-adornment and vanity are for his benefit, and without him she is deprived of the most important part of her life.

This is why the woman fears the loss of her beauty – this and another biological phenomenon now to be mentioned. As will be

shown in Book III, sex is the central fact of life. In women the connection between the sexual life and psychology is more intimate than in man. Now, the duration of woman's active sexual life is limited. It lasts only from the beginning of menstruation until the menopause, and women know quite well that after this their sex life is at an end. But the cessation of menstruation does not necessarily mean the absolute extinction of sexual desire. After the menopause a woman certainly ceases to menstruate, and can no longer conceive or bear children, but she does not necessarily lose her sexual feelings and desires. On the contrary! The epoch which is so well called 'the dangerous age' may actually manifest an increase in sexual feelings. Whether the woman knows this or not, she is apt to rebel against her fate. The woman realises the significance of the menopause and its cruel consequences, more than is usually supposed. She realises that she is no longer a complete woman and that her attraction for men will soon disappear. Nothing is more difficult for a woman to bear than the knowledge that her power over the male sex is now coming to an end. From this knowledge springs the desire to conceal the external indications of age and the loss of beauty. Unfortunately this is not as easy as women of this 'dangerous age' appear to think.

Even though perhaps the change would have otherwise passed unnoticed by the man, women themselves draw attention to it by their behaviour. This is the time when fashion, vanity, and coquetry are most pronounced. She will do anything to conceal the fact that she has passed the menopause. She assumes that the world is as blind as she would like it to be. When a woman puts on rouge she takes for granted that every one is so stupid that it will not be noticed; if it is noticed, however, she has a number of well-prepared excuses ready! Lip-salve is only used 'to prevent the lips from cracking'! Powder and rouge are for the purpose of 'protecting the skin from freckles'! And if she suddenly begins to wear a 'switch' of hair she thinks it is quite all right so long as she explains that it was her own hair from which the 'switch' was made! The words 'It is my own hair' are supposed to silence all criticism!

The 'dangerous age' is really dangerous, for it destroys the last vestiges of the woman's common sense, at least so far as her own person is concerned. Otherwise a woman in the fifties could not be so foolish as to think that she looks her best in the bright colours which are suitable for a young girl. This is the last desperate effort to cling to what she values most in life. Although it is hopeless, she goes on trying. She is obsessed by the thought of her fading beauty, and shudders every time she looks in the mirror. At the same time she undergoes a deep psychological change as the inexorable approach

of old age warps her outlook. She begins to envy every woman who happens to be more attractive or younger than herself. She has always shown traces of this tendency, but now it becomes excessive. It is no longer repressed, but finds expression in the almost morbid passion for scandalmongering. The degree to which this ill-will is manifested varies with the individual. Sometimes she is content with slightly disparaging remarks about those she envies, but sometimes she tears their characters to shreds. To one who understands woman's psychology this very unattractive characteristic appears quite natural. The woman has concentrated her life's energies on external appearances; her whole life has been bound up with them. The fading of beauty must therefore inevitably have the effect just described.

It would be wrong to think that I have any desire to disparage women. I respect and honour women in spite of their faults. But I must tell the truth. Woman is not essentially malevolent; she becomes so only when she is threatened with the loss of her beauty and sexual attractiveness. Every human being clings to power, and woman's power lies in her beauty.

Before passing on to the description of woman during the next, and last, epoch of her life – that of old age – I must attempt to analyse another type of woman – the 'old maid.' The 'old maid' is a psychological riddle, but really only the final link in an endless chain of misfortunes and disappointments. For some reason or other she has had to go through life neglected, ridiculed, scorned, and misunderstood. When we reflect that the whole life of a woman, from childhood onwards, is nothing but a continuous hope and struggle for power and position, we can easily understand the psychology of the 'old maid.' One generally finds that it was some great disappointment, usually of course in love, which laid the foundation of this unhappy life. This disappointment embittered her, first towards herself and then towards the rest of the world. The bitterness has changed her whole life and turned her aside from all that is really feminine. Other women think only of their own beauty and advancement, and their effect on the opposite sex, but the 'old maid,' quite early in life, does just the opposite, because she hates the male sex and cares nothing for their opinion. I say 'quite early in life,' for the old maid is already an old maid at thirty. At that age her psychology is like that of a normal woman of fifty. She shows the same extravagances of fashion, and tries to appear as if she were seventeen. It is this that makes her ridiculous, and it becomes worse as she grows older. A woman must love something, and since she hates men she transfers her affection to cats, dogs, or canaries. These are her only friends – much better friends than the hated race of men. This we can easily comprehend;

for they do not laugh if she stands before the mirror every morning, decking herself out in frills and furbelows, or even if she writes love-sonnets! They do not laugh when she sentimentalises over her one youthful love affair. The old maid is a poor pitiable creature, who has missed all that is best in life. The key to her psychology lies in sex, and we shall therefore discuss it again in Book III.

Passing now to the psychology of woman in old age, we must first point out that, on the whole, she resembles the 'old maid,' with the distinction that the old maid becomes morose, ill-natured, mendacious, and boastful, because she has never had an opportunity to enjoy life, while the old woman does so because she can *no longer* enjoy life. In both cases, therefore, the fundamental factor is the same. The old woman has realised her womanhood, and experienced a woman's joys, and she now longs for all she has lost. Since this is hopeless, she seizes every opportunity of *talking about* the power she *once* had. She boasts of her former beauty, wealth, power, success in all directions, and especially of her conquests over the male sex and the great number of her admirers. Who can disprove what she says? Possibly this universal tendency to exaggeration and falsehood is merely part of the childish simplicity of old age, as characteristic as her loss of common sense, logic, and power of judgment. The old lady lies, partly because she wishes to make a sensation, and partly in a deliberate attempt to obtain the respect which she knows is not usually given to age. Women who retain their full powers of thought and judgment to an advanced age, are the exceptions.

We usually represent the old lady as a grandmother knitting quietly in the corner; what she longs to be is the centre of interest. She cannot and will not see that youth demands its rights, rights which are not in place in the aged. She tries hard to be young and enjoy youthful pleasures; she persistently adorns herself and dresses youthfully. But she fails, and feels her powerlessness. She is impatient and jealous of every one who finds approval. Thus we get the typical, embittered, quarrelsome, malicious old woman. The more conscious she is of the loss of her beauty, the more she concentrates on herself, and expects others to concentrate on her. She insists on her importance and believes that she always has the right to be thought the chief person in every company. When all other means fail, when her endless tedious stories about her youth cease to make sufficient impression, then she falls back on her great age and her white hair, and demands at least – respect.

I fear that I shall provoke the anger of the whole of the sex if I dwell any further on the mental life of the old woman. The mind of the old

woman is as unattractive as her appearance; and why speak of ugly things when dealing with the fair sex?

The account of the psychology of woman which has been given in the foregoing book may be criticised as one-sided in so far as, in the latter part of it, I have confined myself to the woman of the wealthier classes in civilised countries with whom we are all familiar. This objection is justified when we reflect that the uneducated woman of the lower classes has quite other aims in life and lives under quite different conditions. For the psychology of an individual depends on the conditions of life – the milieu. But this selection was justified, because the 'highly civilised' woman shows clearly the sum of all those peculiarities of character which are typically feminine – presents, as it were, the epitome of the psychology of woman.

For the working woman, the peasant, the factory-hand, the servant, and the uneducated woman – they too are vain; they too love self-adornment; their life too consists of nothing but an endless longing for beauty and power. The simple woman shares all the faults and virtues of the high-born lady.

Whether or not these characteristics develop, depends, not on the woman herself, but on the circumstances of her life. The simplest and most uneducated woman has a specifically feminine psychology, for she is derived from a female germ-cell, and all that is typically feminine is already latent in that germ-cell. The woman always remains a woman psychologically as well as physically. Try as we may to describe this psychology, we can never fathom it completely.

As they say in the *Arabian Nights*: 'Canst thou snare the lightning in a net or bail up water with a sieve?'

BOOK III

THE SEXUAL LIFE OF WOMAN

CHAPTER I

MODESTY AND CHASTITY

DURING recent years a new branch of Science has developed which deals with many of the most important problems of human life – the Science of Sex. It is true that, from the earliest times, men have thought about these questions and have appreciated their importance; but prejudice and false values led to much misunderstanding and even to prohibitions against the study of sex. Man has always been eager to veil all nakedness, especially his own, and no nakedness is so hard to face as that which is revealed by the unflinching study of the sex life. Sex, though the dominating force in every life, has usually been concealed from the light of day. Those who blame Science for neglecting this subject for so long, seem to forget that freedom of thought was more restricted in this sphere than in any other. Originally it was regarded as the exclusive privilege of the Church to deal with this delicate phase of human life. The only persons allowed to study sex were the priests in the confessional, and they regarded all its manifestations as 'sinful lust,' which placed the poor sinner in danger of hell and damnation.

At the Church Councils, sexual problems were almost always discussed, and it is to the elaboration of fundamental theological principles at these Councils that we owe our system of morality. In this body of teaching we find every aspect of the sexual life discussed in detail, and they prescribe the questions which the clergy were to put in the confessional. As the poor penitents, no matter what their degree of intelligence, feared nothing so much as the condemnation of the Church and the torments of Hell, we may be sure that these questions did not remain unanswered. In this manner there gradually developed a systematic body of knowledge which was the only Sexual Science of those times. The doctor, the philosopher, and the jurist did not dare to concern themselves with these questions, because the mere theoretical investigation of sex was a sin for which the Church had invented the useful word 'unchastity,' and the lay investigator had nothing to expect but death and damnation.

Thanks to these ecclesiastical taboos, the study of anything even remotely connected with human sexual life came to be regarded as a sign of indecency and lewdness. Everything connected with sex was 'filthy,' and anyone who concerned himself with the subject was degenerate and indecent.

The old Latin motto says, '*Naturalia non sunt turpia*'; and, after all, what is more natural than sex? Does not the whole of life hinge on sex? Does not sex dominate life completely? It is obvious that

these questions must be answered in the affirmative, especially as it can be shown that the sexual character of human beings is unalterable. It is already present in the germ cell. It may be repressed or inhibited in varying degrees in different individuals, but its power is so great that we mortals only too easily become slaves of sex. From this point of view even those manifestations which are so usually labelled 'perversions' must be regarded as something almost natural. That man is a pervert who lacks the self-control and restraint which are necessary to suppress perverse desires. By nature *every* human being is a pervert, if any departure from the so-called normal sexual act is a perversion. It is interesting, in this connection, to study the sex life of animals. Every sexual congress between animals begins with the pursuit of the female by the male. They then sniff, smell and lick each other's sexual organs, and finally proceed to the act of coitus itself. Now, as we shall have to point out in more detail later, the various senses also play an important part in human sexuality; smell, taste, and hearing are just as much involved as are touch and sight. But if a man smells or kisses the sexual organs of a woman he is considered 'perverse.' What is perfectly atural among animals is frowned upon in human beings. Nay more; the criminal law of many countries has assumed the right to treat such perverse persons as criminals! We regard all such laws as unjust. Such men are not criminals, but merely persons who lack inhibitions and allow free play to the sexual feelings which to them appear quite natural. They may be regarded as pathological, but certainly not criminal, and the criminal law has no right to interfere in their sexual life, except for the purpose of protecting persons of tender age from the attacks of individuals who have a pathological lack of restraint.

The whole of human life is sexuality. Sex is at the bottom of all idealism and ambition; it is sex that evokes the desire for riches, honour and position. Sex is the central fact of life. From the beginning of his life man is the unconscious plaything of this hidden force, and this is even more true of woman! She lives only for sex, and is essentially nothing but sex. It must be so if she is adequately to fulfil the great task of motherhood which Nature has assigned to her.

In Book I we mentioned certain cases of sexual precocity in females in which, from the premature occurrence of menstruation, we deduced that there was a precocious development of the sex organs. These cases are, however, exceptional, and do not in any way indicate that the sexual *life* of these children had developed at the same time.

In general, the early years of the childhood of the female are asexual, i.e. free from any sexual desires or wishes, or attraction towards the

other sex. It is true that the literature of the subject contains cases in which a precocious development of sexuality has also been observed in young children. But such a sexual impulse is essentially different from that of adults. It is apparently ignorant of the sexual act and natural means of satisfaction, and is confined to a powerful urge to obtain pleasure by the manipulation of the sexual organs.

It would be a mistake to regard every such case of 'bad habits' as necessarily one of abnormal precocity of the sexual impulse, but it is also wrong to regard it as harmless. It is an established fact that children, even in their earliest years, are fully capable of sexual feeling. As a rule, however, we find that there is some obvious cause for these sexual impulses. It is well known to doctors that the small intestinal worms, which are so often found in children, frequently pass out of the anus, find their way into the vagina and remain there. The itching and tickling which these worms cause in the vagina lead to scratching in order to relieve the irritation. The child thus manipulates the organs, at first quite innocently, until one day while doing so she suddenly experiences a pleasurable sensation – perhaps only the merest suggestion of a voluptuous feeling. It is only natural that the child now begins to play with her sexual organs at every opportunity, in order deliberately to provoke this pleasurable sensation. Thus (as yet quite unconsciously) she begins masturbation. Masturbation is almost as characteristic of childhood as it is of adolescence, of the maturing, and even of the mature, girl. Of the later developments of masturbation I shall speak later.

Lombroso mentions a case in which he observed a very marked habit of masturbation in a girl of eight years of age, and other students of the subject know well that masturbation is very much more common in young children than is usually thought. What usually happens is that some child who is sexually rather prematurely developed, or has somehow accidentally become acquainted with voluptuous sensations, is curious to know whether it is the same with her companions – whether they too know of these pleasant sensations. Driven by curiosity, she seeks an opportunity, when she happens to be alone with some other girl in some quiet corner, to find an answer to the questions which are troubling her so. The other girl is soon initiated and finds pleasure in this 'nice game.' Masturbation soon becomes one of the most popular, as it is one of the most natural, of amusements. There is indeed scarcely a single child who has not at one time or another, though it is true in some cases without any pleasurable sensations, played with its own genital organs or those of another child. In many cases there may have been no sexual pleasure. Sex feeling is already latent in the young child, and it depends entirely on

education and training to what extent this primary sexuality develops in early years. The child is lacking in restraint in all respects, and therefore also in respect of sex; self-control can only come through education.

It is an entirely different matter when we turn to the observations which have been made by scientists of sexual activity amongst young girls of the primitive races. Thus, for instance, it is reported that, among some Negro peoples, girls of seven or eight years of age practise normal sexual intercourse with boys of about twelve years quite openly before their parents and other members of the tribe. We can understand this when we remember that, among these races, the girls menstruate at the age of ten, so that they are precocious in the real sense. The boy of twelve to whom the girl of six, seven or eight is betrothed has complete sexual intercourse with her from the day of the betrothal, and when she begins to menstruate, the marriage is celebrated. It is not until then that the girl is regarded as really mature, since it is not until then that she is capable of giving birth to children. Hence all the customs and ceremonies already mentioned which take place at this time.

But in neither of these cases, i.e. neither in that of infantile masturbation, nor in that of the Negro girl, is the sexual impulse fully developed. It is however a fact that the manipulation of the genital organs, whether by masturbation or normal coitus, does gradually cause the pleasurable feelings to increase until the real voluptuous sensations are prematurely attained. They are therefore responsible for a rapid increase in sexual feeling.

Masturbation in young girls does not rest at these timid first experiments, but soon goes further. At first it was a mere fingering of the vulva, but it soon passes into gentle rubbing movements, and very soon the child discovers that the apex of sexual pleasure is to be found in a special part of the genital cleft – the *clitoris* (or 'button'). She discovers that she can most readily obtain the satisfaction of her increasing sexual desire, by confining her activities to this part of the vulva. When the girls are playing their secret 'games' in the cellar or some secluded corner, the initiate instructs the novice, shows her 'how to do it,' and is most anxious to find out whether 'it' is the same in her friend as it is in her. But the highly-sexed child does not stop even here! She has a vague suspicion that 'everything is different' in boys, and is driven by curiosity to seek, and to obtain, experiences with the other sex. All this with a profound childish *naïveté* without any immorality or depravity. It is purely the outcome of the natural sexual impulse, which is inborn in every human being, and which in these children has awakened somewhat prematurely. Being children

they have no inhibitions. Forel, in his *The Sexual Question*[1] describes two cases which he observed, under the title of 'paradoxia sexualis.' Paradoxy, because he considered that the awakening and abnormal development of the sexual impulse in childhood was untimely and therefore to some extent pathological. I shall quote his account of these two cases: 'The seven-year-old son of a brothel-keeper and of a debauched oversexed father began quite spontaneously to lie in wait for girls of his own age or younger, lure them into a bush or other concealed place by means of sweets, and there have intercourse with them in the normal way. All attempts to reform him failed, and he was sent to an asylum where I saw him. Here he tried his exploits with a boy somewhat older than himself. He was uncontrollable, untruthful, idle, and disposed to all sorts of mischief. He did not attempt to copulate with adult men or women. His sexual organs were infantile and showed no abnormal development. His paradoxy was therefore of cerebral origin. He was, in addition to this, a general moral defective, and later manifested criminal tendencies.'

'A nine-year-old girl used to try to excite sexually all boys, whether of her own age or younger, whom she could lay hold of. She did this so cunningly that she succeeded in gradually killing one of her brothers, and in seriously injuring the urethra and bladder of another, by manipulating their genitals. She also used to have connection with a bigger boy in the woods. In this case I was not able to obtain a history of any hereditary taint. Such persons usually become criminals, habitual masturbators or prostitutes.'

After reading these two cases, it naturally occurs to one to ask whether the masturbation in early childhood which I have already described should not also be regarded as 'paradoxy,' i.e. as pathological. Although Forel warns us expressly against falling into this error, the laity always think that they know more than the scientists. The parents of children who have been accidentally caught masturbating, rush these 'morbidly predisposed children' from one doctor to another, until they at last have their assumption confirmed. None the less I see nothing pathological in the masturbation of children, nor can I see anything 'paradoxical' in the premature awakening of a natural impulse. I regard masturbation in children as the satisfaction of an impulse which to the child is quite natural. The child does not yet know the meaning of inhibition, and thus satisfies this impulse just as freely as it yields to the temptations of a table laden with sweetmeats! The pleasant sensations which it experiences are quite different from real lustful feeling, and are more comparable to the sweetness of stolen bonbons!

[1] Translators' Note. – An English adaptation is published by Rebman.

If one is to call this lack of inhibition in a child, who is not yet mentally developed, pathological, then all children almost without exception are pathological! For there are not five children in 100 who have never masturbated or never wanted to masturbate. Medical treatment can do nothing to cure this habit. Careful supervision and instruction are alone of any avail.

I will have to speak later of the origin, nature, and prevalence of masturbation in later life, its consequences and its excessive aberrations.

We have now dealt with the first manifestations of sex in female children. These primary spontaneous activities are continued into the period preceding maturity, which in the female is indicated by an external phenomenon. It is not until then that sex really develops for the first time.

It is usual to speak of woman playing the passive rôle in love. To some extent this is true, although, as I shall show later, this passivity is perhaps partly simulated and due to inhibitions which are inculcated into the woman. This passivity is really the most intense activity, as we shall realise if we reflect that it is only achieved by compliance with the demands which we civilised peoples make upon women. But it is not really civilisation which arrogates the right to interfere in the processes of Nature, and make demands which are so difficult to fulfil. It is the Church, Religion, Ethics, and Morality which claim this right. Who can guarantee that the demands of civilisation are justifiable? Is it not possible that they are too stringent, that they crush life forcibly into narrow channels, that they are mistaken and that the sort of life intended by Nature, is rather to be found among primitive peoples unhampered by these inhibitions?

What are these demands which civilisation imposes on the respectable woman? It is easy to answer this question in two words – chastity and modesty; but to comply with these demands is difficult; and it is more difficult still to analyse, explain, and correctly evaluate these concepts.

What is modesty? Havelock Ellis, the most celebrated English authority on the Psychology of Sex, is responsible for the most illuminating and comprehensive study of this question in his "Evolution of Modesty."[1] We shall have to refer very frequently to this classic work, but at present desire first to remind the reader of what Stendhal said. He described modesty as 'three-quarters due to example,' and compares it to certain phenomena in the animal kingdom. It is a law, but a law which has been acquired, due to example. In spite of the

[1] Translators' Note. – Vol. I of Havelock Ellis's ***Studies in the Psychology of Sex***, 6 vols. (F. A. Davis, Philadelphia).

praise of modesty with which he follows these words, do they not reveal the truth that modesty involves a deliberate deception, since it is not innate, but something unnatural? This 'miracle of civilisation' which is absent in the savage, which is inculcated into little girls at an early age, does it really 'bring nothing into the world but happiness'? Are all the thousand deceptions which the woman is compelled to employ, so insignificant that we can really afford to ignore them for the sake of some imaginary good – those arts of dissimulation, which, thanks to years of practice, have become a peculiar secret of the female sex and can be brought into play at a moment's notice?

But Stendhal's account of the origin of modesty is open to a further objection, when he states that it is due to the mother's desire to lay the foundation of the 'happiness' of the future lover of her daughter. This means that the education of girls deliberately aims at inculcating certain qualities, which are desired by the male and which are ultimately nothing but sheer pretence. For this concealment of her sensations and feelings is not a natural characteristic of woman, but entirely due to a 'good' upbringing.

It would take too long to discuss Stendhal's description of modesty as 'the mother of love.' His expressions aim purely at the glorification of modesty, and are not really scientific. We must, however, freely acknowledge the truth of at least one of his assertions, namely that: 'The danger that lies in modesty consists in the fact that it continually leads to deception.' Stendhal calls modesty 'the only law born of civilisation which has brought nothing into the world but happiness.' But this description seems very different from the view which regards modesty as something which has been forcibly imposed on the human race, especially the female, and which results in lies and deceit. It is a deliberately inculcated, unnatural quality, which is characteristic only of civilisation. Just as we never find real modesty in little children, so, as we know from the accounts of innumerable travellers, we do not meet with it among primitive peoples. When uncivilised peoples exhibit modesty, it is always in a way which is strange and frequently ludicrous to us. From their earliest years, children are taught by their parents or teachers that certain things, certain parts of the body, and certain bodily functions, must be concealed from the rest of the world, that it is not 'nice,' not 'good,' not 'right' even to speak of such things before strangers. Of course the child does not understand the purpose of all these prohibitions; still less does it realise that really the most difficult sort of self-restraint is being imposed upon it. But it is obedient and observes these rules as it does all other rules. It is true that there is some resistance at first, since the child with its passion for knowledge wishes to know

why certain things are forbidden, and the answer that it is not 'right' does not satisfy it. But later the habit of obedience to the rules made by adults is almost automatic. The child learns to conceal the private parts, and to refrain from urinating or defæcating in the presence of others, and this artificially inculcated modesty persists throughout life. Usually it actually increases as time goes on, until it finally assumes the dimensions which we civilised people demand of each other. Now it is a very important problem whether this modesty, deliberately inculcated from childhood onwards, is justified; whether its advantages outweigh the great evils which are undoubtedly involved. I mention these evils here because it is in childhood that they are most manifest.

The child generally learns to regard all those things which must be hidden so carefully as 'improper,' 'dirty' and 'wicked.' But, not comprehending the why and wherefore, and being at the same time anxious to understand, it becomes curious and restless. It is all the more eager to get a satisfactory explanation of these mysteries. The child begins to brood, and seeks in every possible way to find the solution of these problems, which it suspects must be peculiarly important. Sooner or later its curiosity is satisfied.

Where, how, and from whom, it derives this enlightenment may be of great importance for the whole of its future life!

We see therefore that modesty involves certain harmful consequences to the mental life of the child. On the other hand, it must be agreed that, in view of the moral code of our civilisation, modesty is one of the greatest desiderata of æsthetics and ethics.

Ploss in his *Das Weib*, very happily describes modesty as 'the first inward stirring of morality, which the human being does not learn until he begins to depart from the heedlessness of the brute.'

What do we understand by modesty? The concealment and (frequently simulated) repression of all the impulses which, in the normal healthy adult, become active at the time of puberty. We demand that the woman shall conduct herself as if she had no sexual feelings at all, and that she shall refrain from all conduct which is likely to evoke sexual feelings in others. We also demand that the woman shall conceal her body and all that is popularly called 'her charms.' She must pretend even to herself that she has no sexual feelings, and seem innocent, ignorant, and absolutely asexual. Modesty, therefore, involves self-deception both physically and mentally. Physically, because the woman is compelled to hide her natural charms; mentally, because, even when she is mature, she has to pretend that she has remained at the level of ignorance of a small child. Biologically, these

demands are wrong and unjustified, but ethically they are imperative. Can we find a similar phenomenon in Nature?

We find the direct opposite. Nature has endowed the males of almost all species with different external characters from those of the females. Thus we have the bright plumage of some birds, or the jubilant song of the skylark, the magnificent antlers of the deer, the delicate shimmering wings of the butterfly – all characters which, as has been proved, have been deliberately given to animals by Nature for the purpose of arousing the sexual desire of the opposite sex. The beauty and charm of the human female body are therefore strictly analogous to these characters. But whereas Nature is continually improving these qualities by Natural Selection, we find the human race deliberately suppressing them by means of modesty. Among animals the intensification of these external characters is synonymous with the increase of sexual attractiveness, whereas among human beings we find that sexual attractiveness is apparently heightened, or at any rate considerably influenced, by an intensification of modesty which is *negative*.

It is, however, anything but negative in its effect. Nothing is more calculated to excite the male sexually than the product of this negative intensification – female modesty. And it is because the woman knows this that she complies with the exacting demands of modesty, the purpose of which was so incomprehensible in child hood. The adult woman simulates modesty only because she knows that it attracts the male. . . . At least this is so among civilised peoples.

Things are quite different among other peoples, especially savages. The Negroes, Indians, and other dark peoples of Asia, Africa, and Australia know nothing of modesty in our sense; if it exists at all it is in a quite different form. It may be that owing to the dark colour of the skin in these races, the contrast between the hair-covered genital region and the rest of the body is not so striking. But although this explanation has been suggested by many scientists, this factor appears to be negligible compared with others which we shall now mention. Most of these peoples live in what is called a state of Nature, a condition which to us appears to be much more like that of animals. The whole of their life is lived without any concealment. Woman and man, girl and boy, live with one another in close contact, often in a restricted space. They hunt together, eat together, sleep together, in brief live together without any privacy. They perform all bodily functions such as urination, defæcation, and coitus, without a second thought, in the presence of other members of the tribe. What we call modesty and shame is as unknown to them as to the

animals. To judge from accounts by African explorers, nakedness is accepted quite naturally as is the fact that children of eight or nine years copulate quite openly. Such customs naturally give us the impression that these peoples have remained at a mental level which corresponds to that of children among ourselves, that they have a natural simplicity which sees nothing evil or depraved in these functions. But on the other hand we find descriptions of races in whom certain indications of a feeling of modesty are to be found. Sometimes this is directed towards the genital organs as among us, but sometimes towards some other part of the body. Thus there are some tribes who wear a loose girdle of reeds hanging from a belt and who feel no shame among themselves, but who attempt to hide certain parts of the body if a member of another tribe approaches. In some cases this 'relative' modesty may be shown by the female covering the breasts; in other cases by concealing the back as much as possible, although the rest of the body may be exposed. These examples of 'relative' modesty suggest comparison with certain customs of somewhat more civilised or even highly civilised peoples? Oriental women conceal the nose and mouth by means of a thick veil. We call this modesty 'relative,' because it is directed only to a specific part of the body. How otherwise can we explain that the Chinese women are so extraordinarily modest about allowing their feet to be seen? Or that among civilised peoples the modesty is confined to the genitals? Is not our modesty also 'relative.'

Mantegazza, in his *Fisiologia dell' Amore*, devotes a great deal of space to this subject, and suggests dividing peoples into three classes – immodest, semi-modest, and modest. He thus roughly classifies them in an ascending scale from zero up to a high standard of modesty. Thus the woman of New Caledonia who raised her short fringe and invited the French sailors to have intercourse, might be taken as representing zero, while those women who long for children but would prefer to die sterile rather than submit to a medical examination, must be put on the 100 or 1000 mark! This suggested division of modesty into grades would be justified, if it did not present so many difficulties as to be impracticable. This classification depends largely on the point of view of the observer and his idea of modesty. As the same author points out, in his *Gli Amori degli Uomini*, we form superficial and often quite false estimates of the modesty of a race or people, because we are apt to judge by the amount of clothing, and therefore regard races as deficient in modesty if they wear little clothing and as quite immodest if they are naked. But, while clothing is very important as indicating to what part of the body the modesty is directed, it is no criterion for estimating the degree to which

modesty is developed. We find thousands of cases of gross immodesty in women who, so far as clothing is concerned, satisfy the most exacting requirements!

In fact the relation between clothing and modesty is found to be just the reverse. The kind and form of clothing seem to be adapted to the needs and degree of the development of modesty. We can see this view confirmed if, for a moment, we follow Mantegazza on his brief survey of the subject of modesty and clothing, in which he 'will show us how the fig-leaf sometimes becomes broader, sometimes longer, and sometimes disappears altogether.' 'The Negroes of Suango are very modest, and whenever their women meet Europeans they cover the bosom with the well-known gesture of the Medici Venus. When they are bathing they warn the men by loud cries not to approach the bathing place. We find a similar phenomenon in a cold country in the other hemisphere, among the women of the Tshueltschen (Central America). . . . I myself, as I was descending the Nil-Ghiri hills in order to get to Metapollium in Southern India, observed that the girls hid their beautiful breasts with their cloaks so that I should not see them. But they did not do so when they met men of their own race. . . . A queen of Balonda one day appeared before Livingstone quite naked, but she was painted red and wore jewels round her neck. . . . Other women of the same race go quite naked; they try to get European cloth, but this is for decoration, not for clothing. The men are more adequately clad, since they carry a belt of jackal's skin around the loins which covers both back and front.'

'. . . The Japanese wear clothes but are quite devoid of modesty. Their women bathe quite naked in the middle of the street and indulge in jokes with the passers-by. Their girls have a toy like our "Jack-in-the-box" out of which pops a flesh-coloured erect phallus. . . . The women in Musgo (Central Africa) cover the buttocks scrupulously, while leaving the front part of the body quite naked. This limitation of modesty to a specific part of the body reminds us of the Egyptian and Arabian women, who, if they are surprised with uncovered faces by Europeans, will pull up their skirts to cover the head, leaving the rest of the body exposed. . . . The Bongese, men as well as women, wear very little clothing. The women repair every morning to the neighbouring wood, where they obtain a handful of leaves or a bunch of grass, which serves as clothing for the day. But, none the less, amongst these scantily clad people the children have scarcely been weaned when they are made to sleep apart from their parents, and the older sons have their separate huts, only joining the family for the midday meal. . . . The women of the Mombutto are almost

naked. They wear in front a handful of banana leaves, or a piece of bark which is no bigger than the hand. But they are also extremely immoral. When the women of Ivil in Equatorial Africa were asked by Compêgne to let him have the very fine red straw matting which they wore round the waist, they quite casually took them off and gave them to him, since they were eager to exchange them for a mirror or some beads. . . . Various tribes of Kaffirs wear only a very small apron; but the smaller it is, the more they are embarrassed if it is displaced. . . . The Bendas-Pezis are quite naked and told Livingstone that they wanted to be naked because God made them so. He put clothes on to two girls of ten years of age, and modesty developed immediately. In fourteen days they even covered the breasts when anybody entered their bedroom. . . . Strauch observed on the Anchorite Islands that the natives only covered the sexual organs. The men used strips of bark, which passed between the legs and were fastened to a girdle. But they were so little concerned whether this covering remained in its proper position or not, that one might call it clothing *pro forma*. The women were more adequately clothed, since they had a sort of apron made of bark. These women gave themselves to strangers quite readily. . . . In New Hanover unmarried girls wear no covering over the genitals, but a special girdle distinguishes married women from widows. The men cover themselves with the hand. . . . On my travels in Paraguay I have seen children of both sexes naked in the streets of the capital city, and in a village I saw a grown girl stark naked who gave one of my companions a light for his cigarette, without the least sign of embarrassment. . . .'

Havelock Ellis has published an exhaustive study of this question. He thinks modesty is something acquired by education and increased in later life by many agencies of incalculable importance which are not sufficiently appreciated.

'The sexual factor is, however, the simplest and most primitive element of modesty, and may therefore be mentioned first. Anyone who watches a bitch, not in heat, when approached by a dog with his tail wagging gallantly, may see the beginnings of modesty. When the dog's attentions become a little too marked, the bitch squats firmly down on the front legs and the hind-quarters. Her attitude of refusal is equivalent to that which in the human race is typified by the classical example of womanly modesty in the Medicean Venus, who withdraws the pelvis, at the same time holding one hand to guard the pubes and the other to guard the breasts.'[1]

Proceeding from this primitive type of coyness, which gradually

[1] Havelock Ellis, 'The Evolution of Modesty,' *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. I, p. 37.

develops into modesty, the writer quoted arrives at the final conclusion that 'fear of doing anything to provoke disgust is a contributory factor in modesty' and that 'modesty must also be regarded as an expression of eroticism by the woman.' He very happily cites Montaigne: 'What is the object of that virginal shame, that sedate coldness, that severe countenance, that pretence of not knowing things which they understand better than we who teach them, except to increase in us the desire to conquer and to curb, to trample under our appetite all that ceremony and all those obstacles. For there is not only matter for pleasure but also for pride, in ruffling and debauching that soft sweetness and infantine modesty.'

The fear of revealing those things which should be concealed from strangers led to modesty being directed especially to those parts of the body which were likely to arouse disgust by their normal functional activity. Human beings soon learnt how to hide these parts by means of clothing, but at the same time natural modesty was intensified through the use of clothes.

There is abundant evidence that modesty is intimately connected with education and civilisation. Therefore, since civilisation progresses *pari passu* with mental development (and indeed the two concepts are inseparable), we find, if we return to Europeans, that the modesty of a woman depends on the mental level of the class of society to which she belongs. In this respect we observe a marked difference between urban and rural populations, between higher and lower social classes.

We noted that even amongst savages a certain degree of modesty developed after the advent of missionaries and contact with European civilisation. Similarly we may observe that, to a certain extent, the development of modesty among rural populations of our own lands depends upon contact with the civilisation of the cities. Since, however, the level of civilisation of the peasants is, on the whole, much lower than that of the urban populations, we find that modesty is less developed in the country than in towns. The unconstrained cohabitation of the sexes and the close contact with, and frequent observation of, all the natural processes amongst the domestic animals, lead in the country to what seems, from our point of view, to be moral laxity. We therefore find that feminine modesty is only developed to a rudimentary stage, and is only found among young children. Of course the sort of life which is lived on the land has a great deal to do with this. The unconstrained performance of all natural functions, in a way almost inconceivable to our thoughts and feelings, already observed in primitive peoples, is also to be found to some extent in rural populations. Girls are taught modesty at church and at school,

and this develops up to a certain point. But the size of the families and the sharing of rooms by both sexes, together with the unrestricted association of boys and girls both at work and at play, soon contribute to the decline and final disappearance of this modesty. The modesty demanded from the civilised woman throughout the whole of her life, disappears even in childhood among the peasantry. It is true that the peasant woman deliberately retains a few shreds of modesty which, she instinctively realises, act as an attraction to the male sex. But the modesty of the country girl really disappears the first time she sees her parents, when sleeping in the same room as herself, engaged in the sexual act; or perhaps when at the age of fourteen, one night, after a festival, she opens her bedroom door for the first time to some amorous swain. . . .

Strictly speaking, we may say that chastity, the second requirement of respectability in woman, is contained in modesty. What is chastity? Chastity requires that a woman should refrain from 'sinful' thoughts and from all sexual feelings, or conduct likely to evoke sexual feelings in others. Chastity and morality are frequently regarded as synonymous, but really they are worlds apart. We have the right to demand a certain standard of moral purity from every individual. But this demand is purely relative, since the conception of morality is extremely elastic; what is moral to one people is regarded as immoral by another people. It is only necessary to take one example – monogamy and polygamy. The Catholic Church demands, in addition to lifelong fidelity, between man and wife united by the sacrament of marriage, that the union should endure throughout the whole of their life, so that it views the dissolution of the marriage as immoral, even though the two parties are incompatible and the chains of matrimony gall them. On the other hand, the Mohammedan religion allows polygamy, and sees nothing immoral in a man having relations with a number of women. These different religious systems have led to divergent ideas of morality, and our view is dependent on the civilisation to which we belong. The laws under which we live have developed under the influence of theology. As a result we are compelled to observe a standard of morality with which we may not agree. The fact that a thing is forbidden may even make it attractive, so that the law may have just the reverse of the desired effect. But with chastity it is different.

Chastity demands that a woman should rigidly suppress a natural impulse; that she should refrain from anything sexual in desire, thought, action, or speech – in brief in the whole of her life. Now, have we the right to demand that such a powerful impulse should be completely suppressed? Should we ever dream of forbidding her to

satisfy hunger and thirst? But civilisation and religion usurp this right, and we acquiesce impotently.

We noted that the degree of modesty differs among different peoples and social classes; so also we find that different views prevail on the subject of chastity. Again we turn first to the primitive peoples, and again we note that chastity, like modesty, is by no means innate in women, but is rather due to a deliberate distortion of the human character, handed down from generation to generation. The prevailing view of chastity is due entirely to local customs, and gives us an index of the moral sensibility of a people.

To most primitive peoples the idea of chastity, in our sense, is quite unknown. Cook relates that in Polynesia it was quite customary for the men to lend their wives to one another and that they habitually satisfy their sex impulse in public. They never dreamed of regarding sexual intercourse in general, and sexual intercourse in the presence of others in particular, as wrong or immoral. Woman is regarded simply as a sexual convenience and must always be at hand when required. In this respect we may perhaps regard the Eskimos as standing at the lowest level. Among them the men and women sleep together naked indiscriminately, pressed close together beneath a seal-skin, and think nothing of pressing still more closely together to make room for a stranger if he wishes to spend the night in their hut. The inevitable consequence of this promiscuity is the wildest prostitution. For a small consideration parents will place their daughters next to the guest – apparently to show true hospitality! The parents themselves think nothing of copulating before strangers and in the presence of their own children. This sort of prostitution is even more blatant among some peoples, who will give their women to a stranger for a small price, which is agreed upon with the husband, father, or brother. From such practices we conclude that, at any rate among some peoples, all idea of chastity is lacking. This is, of course, quite natural, since they are accustomed to seeing the sexual life of the animals around them, and they imitate them in the same animal fashion without any idea of shame. Then too, their religions, so far as we may use this term to describe their beliefs, know nothing of chastity, and therefore do not demand it from their women.

Extremely interesting in this connection are the accounts of the Basutos given by Grützner, in the *Magazine of Ethnology*: 'Promiscuity is the national custom. The man pays for intercourse only when the girl becomes pregnant. Strange to say this does not happen very often (the girls say to the men who have intercourse with them "Do not spoil me," i.e. "Do not make me pregnant"). The stranger then has to pay, in some districts one or two goats, in others as

much as seven cows. But as long as the girl does not become pregnant everything is quite *comme il faut*, despite the most flagrant promiscuity. Such unchastity among children and adolescents is regarded merely as a game, and the old people look on and enjoy it immensely when the young ones "play farmyard tricks." '

From an early period priests and statesmen regarded it as necessary to enact laws on the subject of chastity. The Mosaic code demands chastity and innocence from the maiden (Deuteronomy xxii. 13–21), and a breach of this commandment was punished with death by stoning. The stringency of this law and the severity of the penalty may well have been due to the fact that the Jewish people had been extremely licentious in the nomadic stage. Similarly we find that, in the early days of Christianity, chastity was insisted upon – a novel demand in view of the low standard of morality then current, and the profligacy of both public and private life, especially amongst the Romans. It is significant that Christianity is built up on the 'immaculate conception.' Why should the Mother of the Saviour be represented as the ideal type of Chastity and Purity? Surely Chastity was made the basis of the new religion, as a reaction against the profligacy of Roman society. It was natural that this new religion was exposed to persecution and obloquy. The situation was similar to that which arises to-day when a missionary attempts to carry the Christian doctrine of chastity to savage races. We see the same conflict between carnal appetite and chastity. It appears that primitive peoples do not realise that they are living an immoral life until they are enlightened by the missionaries. All conception of a moral standard, as we understand it, has hitherto been lacking. Suddenly Christianity tells them that all that they have regarded as natural is wrong – unchaste. Naturally, such peoples at first resist this change in their habits since they cannot understand it. It is just as unwelcome to them to have their customary sexual freedom interfered with, as it once was to the licentious Romans to have their unrestrained profligacy condemned by the canons of a new religious sect.

It must always remain a moot question whether the Christian doctrines of chastity and purity have the validity which is claimed for them. Celibacy is often discussed in this connection. Christianity imposes the duty of absolute celibacy on priests and nuns.[1] In many cases, this requirement cannot be, and in fact is not, fulfilled, nor, since it is unnatural, ought it to be. The consequences are inevitable. These persons, although they have been dedicated to God, are still

[1] Editor's Note. – It will be seen, in the following pages, that the author's criticisms of Roman Catholicism are extreme and manifest a strong personal prejudice.

human beings, with natural impulses and instincts, and nothing can strip them of their humanity. The result is that they pretend to be chaste, but in secret indulge in the wildest profligacy and perversions. This is followed by remorse, resulting in self-mortification and flagellation. The sexual orgies which used to take place in the monasteries and convents have been frequently described, as well as the prevalence of masturbation and various perversions as substitutes for natural satisfaction. It is only a superhuman fanaticism, almost bordering on the pathological, which could completely suppress such a powerful impulse, and the attempt at suppression often leads to incredible results. Forel writes: 'The result of this confusion of sexual life with religious ordinances is a combination of ridiculous prudery and repressed sexuality. In some Catholic schools the nuns forbid the pupils to wash the sexual parts because to do so would be unchaste. In Austria the nuns frequently veil the crucifix in their chamber when they are undressing, so that "Christ shall not see them naked." During the Middle Ages, convents frequently became brothels, in which under the cloak of religious asceticism sexual orgies of the vilest description, frequently accompanied by perverse practices, were enacted by hysterical erotic hypocrites. Compulsory asceticism, compulsory abstinence, provoke excesses as does every other sin against Nature.' Forel's view is supported by the facts observed in cases of religious mania.

Should we not regard it as religious mania, though perhaps in a rudimentary and as yet harmless form, when a young girl, scarcely more than a child and quite ignorant of life, turns her back on all its joys, and takes the veil of the 'Bride of Christ'? Is it surprising that later, under the rigid rules of the various orders, this rudimentary 'chastity complex' develops into the most excessive forms of self-renunciation, self-mortification, and even scourging? The stronger the sexual impulse, the more rapidly this occurs. We should not condemn the priest or nun who revolts against the rule of celibacy, but rather their hypocrisy and deceit. I am convinced that in those cases in which nuns or priests break their vows, it is not so much that they long for the 'pleasures of the world,' but rather that they are sick of hypocrisy and lying. I myself knew a Catholic priest who was the friend of a musical composer. Almost every evening, after the Absolution Service, he used to put on dress clothes and spend the evening preferably in the company of ballet girls. After partaking of these worldly pleasures till the small hours of the morning, he would hurry back to the presbytery and without retiring to rest after this nocturnal mortification, piously celebrate the mass! During the war I also became acquainted with two priests, who both consulted me for

advice on contraception; each of them had a regular mistress whom he visited every evening. One of them, who was the confessor and spiritual adviser of a lady of exalted rank, renounced holy orders at the end of the war and married. Of the other, I have not since heard.

The chastity demanded by the code of present-day society may in some sense be justified, but not so the excessive demands which are contrary to Nature and imply a forcible suppression of natural impulses. They inevitably lead to a result which is the opposite of that intended; instead of purification and the elevation of morals, they lead to either hypocrisy, lies, and deception, or to masturbation and other sexual aberrations.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF THE SEXUAL IMPULSE

At the end of the last chapter, I referred to 'natural impulses.' I mean of course the sexual impulse which is present in each of us, and dominates our lives.

In Book II, I pointed out that the difference between boys and girls in early childhood is due to tendencies latent in the germ-cell. The little girl plays with dolls, and if she has none makes one out of old rags; she nurses it, cuddles it, and plays at being a mother. The boy, on the other hand, finds his pleasure in being the leader of a band of robbers, a field-marshal, a king, or a soldier; and the wilder and braver he is, the happier he is, and the more he rises in the estimation of his companions. One is always prone to ascribe this difference in the games of girls and boys to tradition and parental influence. But closer observation shows that it is otherwise, and that the explanation is not so simple. The female child has an unconscious, apparently innate, predisposition towards that self-sacrificing love and all the activities characteristic of motherhood. These feelings are latent in the child; she herself, in her innocence, is unconscious of them, but they reveal themselves in her play. They are intimately connected with sex, and are probably located in some particular part of the brain, just as we must assume that there is a specific sexual area in the brain of the adult woman. But in contradistinction to the other natural impulses, the sexual impulse is only very rarely manifested in young children. Such children are either pathological, or have been taught the habit of masturbation which has led to a premature awakening of sexual feelings. As a rule, the sexual impulse does not develop until puberty. Little girls may feel vaguely that there is something specifically feminine in them, but it remains true that the sexual impulse does not develop in any real sense until the whole organism is ready for it.

The sexual impulse is a mental impulse, and requires various factors for its discharge, which will be described in detail in Book IV. Havelock Ellis gave a brilliant analysis of the sexual impulse, which is now generally accepted. According to this view, the sexual impulse consists of three stages. One, *tumescence* – during which the impulse awakens and increases; two, *orgasm* – during which everything is blotted out from consciousness, and gratification is attained; three, *detumescence* – during which the emotions subside and a feeling of mental and physical rest supervenes. Before dealing with each of these three stages, let us consider the impulse as a whole.

We have already mentioned that the sexual impulse is innate in

human beings, and we should like to insist, at this point, that there is no such thing as an *asexual* human being, i.e. a person who never has had, and never will have, any sexual feelings. But it is true that in some individuals, this impulse develops earlier than in others. Individuals vary in the quality, intensity, and periodicity, of the sexual impulse. This variation depends in turn on the quantity and quality of the emotions and sense-impressions, which we commonly call the 'temperament' of the individual. This temperament is determined largely by the degree of deliberate repression of sexual feeling by the individual himself, as well as by the restraints which are due to education and morality. If this connection between temperament and the sexual impulse is sound, it must follow that the higher the degree of sexuality the higher must be the degree of inhibition required.

This observation reveals another aspect of the slavery to which women are condemned. Education and the prevailing views of morality result, amongst civilised peoples, in the repression of the sexual impulse in girls and women. The ideas of modesty which are instilled into quite small children, and the ideal of chastity which is preached by religion, lay the foundations of a repression which is quite opposed to natural impulses. The young man, on attaining maturity, is free to satisfy his sex feelings when and how he chooses, whereas at the same time the girl is condemned to abstinence, modesty, and chastity. I deliberately use the word 'condemned' because observation of primitive peoples proves conclusively that human beings who are free from restrictions begin to exercise these natural functions immediately they become conscious of them, i.e. on the attainment of puberty. If a girl in our society lacks the necessary restraint, or has not sufficient self-respect or moral character successfully to crush this impulse, she is scorned, despised, and placed in the pillory.

Yet, after all, she is merely responding to a longing to fulfil her natural function, which society forbids her to do. We know of quite a number of cases in which this impulse is so powerful, even in childhood, that it not only makes itself felt but leads to sexual activity. These are the cases in which, for the reasons already mentioned, masturbation is practised.

I have already stated that, for the satisfaction of the sexual impulse, a great number of attendant circumstances, or, more strictly speaking, causative factors, must be present. These factors cause the awakening of the longing for sex-activity, and normally are due to, and are directed towards, a member of the opposite sex. The analysis of the sexual impulse into three stages, tumescence, orgasm, and detumescence, was amended by the famous sexologist Moll, who divided it

into two components – detumescence and contrectation. The former is purely physical and, in the male, culminates in ejaculation of the semen; the latter is psychological as well as physical and leads to a desire for sexual union. According to his view, either of these components may occur without the other, but two together produce complete satisfaction of the sexual impulse. The nature of the sexual impulse can only be understood if we regard what Moll calls detumescence, as the conclusion of what Havelock Ellis calls tumescence. In other words the intensity of relief experienced is directly dependent on the degree of tension which has preceded it, and the most natural way of obtaining relief of the tension, is by the union of the two sexes, i.e. in what Moll calls contrectation. Havelock Ellis very happily compares tumescence to 'the fuel,' anddetumescence to the 'extinction of the flames from which the torch of life is lit, in order that it may be handed on from generation to generation.' The desire of human beings for sexual intercourse is at first unconscious; later it becomes more and more apparent, and develops to a certain height, at which it remains during the whole period of sexual activity. It then declines gradually but never completely disappears. We shall have to point out later that this desire, which dominates human beings throughout the whole of their lives, is usually at its strongest at a time when they have lost the actual physical power to fulfil it.

We have shown that the basis of sexuality is to be found in the individual, but we must now make it clear that a great many auxiliary factors are required in order to awaken this latent impulse and arouse it to full activity.

We must first consider all the mysterious forces which go to make up what is usually called 'love' – a term which is frequently misinterpreted and misused. In place of the word 'love,' it would be better to think of a number of obscure but powerful stimuli, which are first brought into play, consciously and unconsciously, by both sexes in order to attain sexual intercourse, but which persist and increase after intercourse. Love-life is made up of a repeated game of male wooing and female yielding. Love-play, conquest, and surrender are respectively cause, purpose, and effect, and involve the activity of innumerable stimuli of obscure origin – all directed to the same end. Sympathy, interest, the desire of a man for a woman and *vice versa* – all are sparks to the great fire of the sexual impulse. There are many such sparks, almost every sense contributing its share. Of these we shall speak later. Here, we must first describe the physical changes produced by the psychological stimuli. Both male and female genital organs possess erectile tissue – i.e. tissue extraordinarily rich in blood-vessels and nerves. In response to nervous stimuli from the brain, the

inflow of blood into these vessels is increased, and the outflow from them hindered. As a result, these parts of the genital organs become congested and increase in size. This phenomenon is called *erection*. We have already described the erectile tissue which runs through the whole length of the penis; a similar apparatus is to be found in the clitoris of the female. Just as the male organ has been provided with this erectile tissue in order that it may become bigger and harder and thus penetrate the vagina like a dagger, so also the female organs possess a number of mechanisms for facilitating the sexual act. The mucous membrane of the vagina is provided with innumerable glands of varying size. As a result of sexual excitement – i.e. at the command of a nervous impulse from the brain – the blood-vessels of the vaginal mucous membrane become congested, and this causes these glands to secrete a mucous fluid into the vagina. It is thus moistened and prepared for coitus. These phenomena present, in the female, the same picture of physical tumescence as is shown in the male by the erection of the penis. The psychological tumescence, i.e. the desire for intercourse, thus expresses itself in physical tumescence; this in turn, on account of the feeling of warmth and tension in the mucous membranes, adds new fuel to the flame of the sexual impulse. Thus we have an interaction of physical and psychical components, all moving irresistibly towards the orgasm – the climax of sexual pleasure. But the climax is not reached until the mechanical stimulation of the nerves of the mucous membrane has produced a still greater degree of tumescence.

This additional stimulation of the nerve-endings is brought about in the normal act of intercourse, by means of the pressure and friction of the hard penis in the vagina; in unnatural methods of satisfaction it is obtained by means of manipulations of various sorts, which will be described later under the heading of masturbation. Although this mechanical stimulation is normally indispensable for the attainment of orgasm, the latter may, in some cases, occur without it. I am referring, of course, to nocturnal emissions accompanying erotic dreams. In these cases a purely psychical tumescence produces orgasm accompanied by voluptuous pleasure. But there are also cases of hyperæsthesia, especially among women, in which, even in waking life, complete orgasm may be attained purely psychically, i.e. without any direct mechanical stimulus.

Since the male orgasm is accompanied by the discharge of the seminal fluid, it was natural that efforts should be made to ascertain whether there was not a corresponding phenomenon in the female. It has been proved beyond all doubt that, with the rise of tumescence, the vaginal musculature contracts strongly, the vagina become nar-

rower, and the friction between the mucous membrane and the penis is increased to a maximum. At the moment of orgasm there are even changes in the uterus. As a result of congestion and muscular contraction, the cervix and os uteri protrude still further into the vagina. At the same time, according to some authorities, a drop of mucous fluid, normally present in the cervical canal, is expelled, and thus opens the way for the entrance of the spermatozoa. In contrast to the watery fluid which is secreted by the vagina at the beginning of tumescence, this drop is viscous. It is also asserted that, at the moment of orgasm, the os uteri executes a sort of snapping movement and sucks up the semen. The final purpose of the act of coitus is thus achieved: in man the discharge of the seminal fluid; in woman the expulsion of the drop of mucus from the os uteri, which opens the way for the entrance of the spermatozoa; these represent the climax of the act in each sex respectively and lead to fertilisation.

The sexual act is not only accompanied by changes in the sex organs proper. The orgasm, as well as the earlier stages of tumescence, involves other parts of the body and nervous system. Such important changes take place that close study shows that no part of the body is unaffected by this violent spasm. The pulse and respiration become more rapid, blood-pressure is increased, the muscles contract, there are disturbances of sight, hearing, and speech, so that frequently incoherent words are uttered. The agitation of the whole organism is so great that many (usually somewhat unbalanced) persons may unconsciously commit senseless actions for which they can give no reason. Cases are even known in which sexual intercourse, or rather the activities associated with voluptuous pleasure, have led to deep swoons or to physical disturbances such as epilepsy, or even to death. Naturally, such disturbances as the last mentioned take place only in persons whose nervous system was already in some way abnormal or diseased.

Under normal circumstances, tumescence, orgasm, and detumescence follow one another quite naturally, accompanied by strong desire and feelings of intense pleasure. It seems as if Nature intended sexual intercourse to have a salutary effect on the organism. The old Latin tag, '*Omne animal triste post coitum*' may be true in a certain sense, but the fact remains that normal sexual intercourse practised in moderation, normal gratification of such a natural impulse as the sex impulse, has, under all circumstances, a beneficent effect on the individual. The stage of detumescence is accompanied by a relaxation of the whole body, a feeling of repose, lassitude, and satisfaction, so that everything else is forgotten.

The truth of this last sentence is demonstrated more clearly in the

man than in the woman, because in him the release of nervous tension takes place more suddenly than in her. Even after orgasm has been attained, she is still far from complete satisfaction, because she has a certain *after-feeling*. This will be discussed later in detail.

We have seen that the sexual impulse is made up of various psychical and physical components which, culminating in the orgasm, lead to the union of the two sexes for the procreation of a new life. Havelock Ellis[1] has shown that the sexual impulse, in both man and woman, is subject to a certain periodicity.

He first tried to explain the periodicity in the male by showing that in man, as well as in woman, there is manifested every month a maximal increase of sexual energy – a sort of male menstruation. As a result of careful observations, he came to the conclusion that the seasons also had a quite unsuspected, but more enduring, influence on the sexual life of human beings.

It was naturally enticing to compare this phenomenon with the occurrence of rut in animals. Just as animals are only sexually active at certain seasons of the year, and the female will only allow the male to mount her at this time, so, it was suggested, there is in man a sort of rut, evidence of which was to be found in the customs of some primitive peoples.

'In primitive human races we frequently trace precisely the same influence of the seasonal impulse as may be witnessed in higher animals, although among human beings it does not always result that the children are born at the time of greatest plenty, and on account of the development of human skill such a result is not necessary. Thus Dr. Cook found among the Eskimos that, during the long winter nights, the secretions are diminished, muscular power is weak, and the passions are depressed. Soon after the sun appears a kind of rut affects the young people. They tremble with the intensity of sexual passion, and for several weeks much of the time is taken up with courtship and love. Hence the majority of children are born nine months later, when the four months of perpetual night are again beginning. Such a clear seasonal periodicity is not confined to the Arctic Circle; we also find it in the tropics.'[2]

Havelock Ellis also connects the various festivals held in connection with the changes of the seasons, e.g. at the equinoxes and solstices, with this seasonal periodicity. These festivals almost invariably culminate in sexual orgies.

'Very instructive from our present point of view is the account given by Dalton of the festivals of the various Bengal races. Thus the Hos (a Kalorian tribe) of Bengal are a purely agricultural people and the chief

[1] Op. cit. [2] Havelock Ellis, op. cit. I, p. 127.

festival with them is the *Magh-parah*. It is held in January "when the granaries are full of grain and the people, to use their own expression, are full of devilry." It is the festival of the harvest-home, the termination of the year's toil, and is always held at full moon. It is a saturnalia when all the rules of duty and decorum are forgotten and the utmost liberty allowed to women and girls, who become like bacchantes. The people believe that at this time both men and women become overcharged with vitality and that a safety valve is necessary.

'The festival begins with a religious sacrifice made by the village priest or elders, and with prayers for the departed and for the vouchsafing of seasonable rain and good crops. The religious ceremonies over, the people give themselves up to feasting and drinking the home-made beer, the preparation of which from rice is one of a girl's chief accomplishments. "The Ho population," wrote Dalton, "are at other seasons quiet and reserved in manner, and, in their demeanour towards women, gentle and decorous; even in flirtation they seldom transcend the bounds of decency. The girls, though full of spirits and somewhat saucy, have innate notions of propriety that make them modest in demeanour, though devoid of all prudery and of the obscene abuse frequently heard from the lips of common women in Bengal. They are delicately sensitive under harsh language of any kind and never use it to others. And since their adoption of clothing they are careful to drape themselves decently as well as gracefully; but they throw all this aside during the *magh* feast. Their nature seems to undergo a temporary change. Sons and daughters revile their parents in gross language, and parents the children; men and women become like animals in the indulgence of their amorous propensities. They enact all that was ever portrayed by prurient artists in a bacchanalian festival or pandean orgy; and as the light of the sun they adore and the presence of spectators seem to be no restraint to their indulgence, it cannot be expected that chastity is preserved when the shades of night fall on such a scene of licentiousness and debauchery." '[1]

It would take us too far to adduce further examples of the practices at various festivals which are reported in different books. They prove conclusively that the theory of sexual periodicity is sound. But why seek further examples when every-day life provides the attentive observer with abundant evidence of this fact. The gynæcologist and student of sex repeatedly observe that the sexual life of woman is subject to periodical fluctuations, which naturally are more obvious, and so more easily explicable, than those in man. From the outset, on account of menstruation, the woman is subject to periodical variations

[1] Havelock Ellis, op. cit. I, p. 128.

in all her vital functions both physical and mental. In spite of all women's inhibitions, which serve to conceal everything in any way connected with sex, one may note a monthly increase in sexual desire – *libido sexualis* – which reaches its apex immediately after the menstrual period. This may well be due to the congestion of the sex organs which takes place at this time – a phenomenon analogous to rut in animals. But while in animals the male is attracted by the blood and mucus discharged from the genital organs of the female, in human beings, the contrary is the case. Normally the effect on the man is repulsive, and coitus does not take place at this time.[1]

But the libido of the woman, which is thus subject to a monthly ebb and flow, also shows a seasonal fluctuation throughout the year. This is demonstrated very easily by the variation in the birth rate from month to month. Havelock Ellis, reviewing the seasonal distribution of births in Europe, finds that there are two periods in the year which are particularly favourable for conception, and therefore presumably two periods when the woman's libido is at its highest point. One of these is in Spring, especially in May, and the other at Christmas. We are not altogether prepared to admit this latter periodicity without reservations, since we are rather inclined to think that it depends on the external conditions prevailing at these times, and attach much more importance to this latter consideration than to the influence of the moon! The awakening of Nature in Spring, the return of the sun, and the blossoming of the flowers after the dreary winter, give rise to a certain *joie de vivre* and desire for enjoyment. These conduce to the increase of sexual desire. The second period, in the middle of winter, is explained by the numerous festivals, especially the carnival, and the facilities thereby afforded for the mingling of the sexes. The desire arising from the sexual impulse requires favourable conditions in order that it should result in activity; and these auxiliary factors should always be taken into account. Anybody who knows much about women will recognise that there is a monthly sexual periodicity connected with menstruation, but will not necessarily be prepared to assume, purely on the evidence of the birth statistics, that there is a seasonal periodicity of libido throughout the year. This may be true

[1] Editor's Note. – It seems uncertain whether this disinclination for intercourse at the time of the menstrual periods is not partly due to convention. It is certain that a large number of otherwise normal men and women have no objection to intercourse at such times. Indeed it is by no means uncommon to find highly cultured and moral persons who find intercourse at such times more pleasant than at any other. The usual view that this taste is an evidence of abnormality seems to me to be based on a purely *a priori* assumption. I have not been able to find any evidence that intercourse during menstruation is harmful to either partner.

of savages and primitive peoples, but not of our women. The statistics of the maternity hospitals always show that the time of the Carnival (i.e. in January and February), is the period most favourable to conception. I remember that, during my long service at the clinic of my revered master Schauta, we could always count on the 'Kaiser' children. These were the children who had been begotten on the annual holiday in celebration of the birthday of the Emperor (August 18). It should be noted that this date does not accord with Havelock Ellis's scheme. It is not the seasons which determine sexual periodicity, but rather the occurrence at certain times of the year of circumstances which provide greater facilities for the mingling of the sexes, and which consequently awaken the repressed libido of the woman and lead to sexual activities.

In order to understand the sexual impulse fully, it is necessary to deal in somewhat greater detail with its connection with the central nervous system. The fact, previously mentioned, that the sexual impulse and the various phases of tumescence are dependent on the nervous stimulation of quite specific parts of the body and skin, has already suggested that there is a higher power which controls and regulates the sexual behaviour as well as all other functions of life. For a long time the view adopted was that of Gall, who rendered great service to Science by his classic work on the localisation, in the brain, of the centres governing the various senses. He believed that he had found a sexual centre in the base of the brain. Further investigations soon proved that a specific area of the brain does control the sex life, but that this is to be found not in the area suggested by Gall, but in the cortex intimately associated with the other sensory areas. The practical proof of this theory was afforded by numerous experiments on animals, in which an interference with the cortex caused a complete cessation of all sex functions. Further proofs were afforded by the ingenious experiments of Krafft-Ebing, who finally arrived at the conclusion that there was a special area for the sex-impulse located near the other centres in the cortex, in close proximity to the olfactory area. On this last assumption are based the very interesting experiments of Fliess, who demonstrated the close connection which exists, especially in women, between the mucous membrane of the nose and the sex organs. But although these experiments are extremely interesting they do not come within the scope of this book.

In addition to the cerebral centres there are also other centres – 'control stations,' if I may so describe them – in the spinal cord, especially in the lumbar region. These also play an important part in 'shunting' the nervous impulses going from the brain to the sex organs and *vice versa*. Besides these purely nervous factors, there is a

third element related to the activity of the sex impulse – the complete development of the genital organs and the functional activity of the *gonads*[1] – the ovaries in woman, the testicles in man. Sufficient proof of this last statement is afforded by the lack of sexual activity in childhood, i.e. at a time when the glands are not yet fully developed, and by the extinction of the sex impulse in old age, i.e. when the glands have retrogressed. Still more striking is the proof afforded by the artificial destruction of the sex impulse by castration, i.e. by removal of the gonads.

[1] Gonads = sex glands; an inclusive term for ovaries and testicles.

CHAPTER III
MASTURBATION

We now come to the important subject of masturbation. Here again, as so frequently before, we have to refer to the classic work of Havelock Ellis. To him is due the term *Auto-erotism* which he defines as 'the phenomenon of spontaneous sexual excitement without any direct or indirect stimulus from another person.' This means that the sexual impulse is awakened to activity without the aid of those external stimuli which we have called normal. It has already been noted that in childhood the premature awakening of the sex-instinct leads to masturbation. It is noteworthy that this common habit, which, when indulged in to excess, poisons both body and mind, has been observed much more frequently in girls than in boys. The explanation of this lies in the fact that in girls the sex-instinct may be aroused and satisfied without the important factor which is essential in males – I mean erection – the stiffening and hardening of the penis, without which, normally, the discharge of semen is impossible. In males, erection is the physical sign of tumescence, but this does not become a means to an end until the attainment of puberty. It is otherwise in the female. The clitoris, which is to be found in the upper part of the vulva, needs only a very slight stimulus to bring about the primary phenomenon, the moistening of the vulva by the secretion of the numerous glands, and such stimuli are common in girls. An external, or so to speak, natural, cause of this irritation is frequently found in the presence of thread-worms,[1] those small intestinal worms to which children are subject. These parasites live in great numbers in the lower part of the child's bowel and easily migrate thence to the vulva. In both situations they cause irritation which the child tries to relieve by scratching or rubbing. The child's finger happens to touch the clitoris and evokes a pleasurable sensation, which is at first novel and barely conscious. She tries again, this time without waiting for the irritation due to the worms, and makes the discovery that rubbing the genital organs causes pleasure. But a child goes from one interest to another very rapidly and would probably soon give up this primary masturbation, at any rate when irritation due to the worms (the real cause) had disappeared, were it not that usually just at this time it is reinforced by the bad example of companions who have been initiated by older girls. One tells the other of the 'great discovery,' of the 'lovely feeling' she gets when she plays with her genital organs; she initiates her companion to see if it is 'just the same with her,' and thus the foundation of the

[1] *Oxyuris vermicularis.*

habit of masturbating is laid. The problem of epidemics of masturbation in schools has been carefully investigated, and it has been found that a single masturbator may easily initiate all the others into the habit.

Masturbation is also known by the names of 'self-abuse' and *onanism*. The latter term is derived from an episode narrated in the Bible[1].

By onanism or masturbation we understand self-gratification. Note that we say 'self-*gratification*' and not 'self-*abuse*.' The essential characteristic of auto-erotism is that the sexual impulse is satisfied by and on oneself. Masturbation thus consists of tumescence and detumescence without fulfilment of the contrectation-impulse, i.e. the impulse to union with a person of the opposite sex. It is true that in adults this factor may play a part in the phantasy of the masturbator, but in children even this imaginary contrectation is absent, since children know nothing or very little of the other sex.

Forel divides masturbation into two kinds: masturbation *faute de mieux*, and masturbation by example or imitation. As instances of the former he adduces the masturbation which is found among men in prisons, asylums, or barracks. This sort of masturbation is extremely important in the female sex, though only in adult life.

In the male, the overfilling of the testicles automatically induces an evacuation of the accumulated semen, and leads to nocturnal emissions in youths even though they are quite normal and are not preoccupied with sex as a result either of bad example or of indulgence in erotic thoughts. This is a purely automatic evacuation of accumulated semen which takes place during sleep. There is no corresponding phenomenon in woman. Woman is, as it is usually put, the passive party, and therefore it is only after acquaintance with the pleasures of sex (and this is usually not until she has had regular intercourse for some time), that a woman resorts to this 'masturbation *faute de mieux*.' In childhood or during the early years of adolescence there is no masturbation *faute de mieux* in females, but only masturbation due to imitation and bad example.

The woman can satisfy her desires by rubbing or otherwise manipulating the erogenous zones of the genital organs, e.g. the labia and clitoris, which are richly supplied with nerve endings. These manipulations gradually increase in dexterity, until what almost deserves to be called a technique is acquired. We know of many cases in which girls and women have become so susceptible that they are able to obtain an orgasm by simply crossing the thighs and pressing them together.

[1] Genesis xxxviii.

But they do not rest content with manual manipulations; soon they begin to employ objects which in shape and size are something like the male organ. We may speak of a veritable 'instrumentarium of masturbation.' Many gynæcological clinics and asylums have a collection of objects used by women for masturbation, some of which are almost incredible. The habitual rubbing of the vulva causes a typical enlargement of the labia[1] – a sign from which alone the experienced gynæcologist can diagnose habitual masturbation; but young girls are so frightened of losing their virginity that they usually stop short of a rupture of the hymen. The mature woman, however, has no such fear, and her masturbating activities may know no limits. Simple articles of daily use such as pencils, hairpins, knitting-needles, corks, candles, etc., and also other objects which at first would seem incredible, are used. From this short list we perceive that the masturbating woman shrinks at nothing; once she has habituated herself to this sort of satisfaction, almost anything may be employed for the purpose. It would be a mistake to think that only the highly cultivated white woman is addicted to this practice. The explorers of Africa, Asia, and America tell us that masturbation flourishes among primitive peoples, and that indeed these peoples are very ingenious in the invention of stimulating devices provided with balls, bells, and other decorations.

Many scientists have committed the error of assuming that masturbation is a vice peculiar to advanced civilisations and is a sign of 'decadence.' In Moll's *Handbook of Sexual Science* we find an illustration which proves that the Ancient Greeks made artistic imitations of the penis – called *olisbos* – which were used by the women for masturbation. This is a very ancient example of the artificial penis, which has been found amongst many peoples of later ages. In the long run these tend to replace all the other devices which have been mentioned in the instrumentarium of masturbation. They are called *Godemichés* (Lat. '*gaude mihi*'), *Dildoes*, or *Consolateurs des Dames*, and, in one form or another, have been made and sold for many centuries and are still sold to-day. In Europe during the Middle Ages the clergy were particularly active in combating these 'gladdeners,' and it is even reported that in France the manufacturers of such objects were liable to death or banishment. In spite of this, France in the eighteenth century had developed the industry to a point far surpassing all other countries. The famous French statesman Mirabeau speaks of such a *Godemiché* in one of his erotic novels – *Le rideau levé, ou l'éducation*

[1] Editor's Note. – I have seen hundreds of women, who have admitted to me that they masturbated regularly, but who showed no vestige of any such alteration of the sexual organs.

de l'aure – and gives a detailed description which, following a translation by Bloch (*Sexual Life of our Times*)[1], I will quote here : 'The instrument resembled in every respect the natural penis. The only difference consisted in the fact that, from the apex to the root, it was furnished with transverse waves, in order to make the friction more powerful. Made entirely of silver, it was painted in the natural colours with a smooth hard varnish. It was light and thin, and hollow in the middle. Through the middle of the hollow interior ran a tube also of silver, about twice as thick as a goose quill, within which was a piston. The tube was closed at the other end by means of a screw which was perforated and firmly soldered to the base of the head. There was thus an empty space between this syringe and the outer walls of the instrument. The whole instrument was closed by means of a tight-fitting cork with a hole through its centre. This aperture admitted the other end of the tiny syringe, and by means of a spiral spring the syringe could be operated in jerks. The outer cavity was filled with water warmed to blood heat, and then closed by means of the cork. The syringe was filled with a thin whitish solution of isinglass by drawing back the piston. The warmth of the water was soon communicated to the isinglass, which thus imitated human semen as nearly as possible.'

Here we have an instrument which tries to imitate the ejaculation of semen, but the ingenuity of some peoples has gone even further, and has invented an apparatus which increases the pleasure derived from the use of these *consolateurs* by means of various artificial devices. The Japanese, as Havelock Ellis has pointed out, have displayed great ingenuity in this respect. They use two hollow spheres, each about the size of an egg, which, according to some accounts (Ivest, Christian, Moraplia, Bachaumont, and others), are made of thin metal-plate. One of them is hollow, the other, the so-called 'little-man,' contains either a tiny metal ball or some quicksilver, or in other cases, little tongues of metal which vibrate when the sphere is shaken. The empty one is first introduced into the vagina until it touches the uterus. Then the other is also introduced. The slightest movements of the abdomen or thighs, or even the spontaneous movements of the abdominal organs, starts the quicksilver or little solid ball rolling, and the resulting vibration evokes a continuous titillation, a gentle stimulation like that from an induction coil. These spheres are called '*Rino-Tama*,' and are retained in the vagina by means of a paper plug. Women using them lie in hammocks or rocking chairs and the gentle vibration of the two balls gradually evokes the most

[1] Translators' Note. – It will be found at page 412 of the English translation of Bloch by Eden and Cedar Paul (Rebman).

intense degree of sexual excitement. In addition to this apparatus, we find in Japan, as in China, that artistic phalli of clay, paper, or wax are much esteemed and are sold quite openly.

And how is it with ourselves? The answer to this question is easier than most people realise. The modern civilised woman is not backward in this respect. All the devices known to the eighteenth century have been improved and refined, and there is a large trade in these artificial phalli, although it is illegal. In order to intensify the titillation, the modern *Godemichés* have points or spikes of rubber – a refinement of civilisation which calls to mind the practices recorded among some primitive peoples, who also have ingenious devices for increasing the pleasure of normal sexual intercourse. Thus, for example, objects are employed for the purpose of increasing the size of the penis, or for making its surface uneven, and thus, by increasing the friction, heightening the pleasure. In Indo-China, Eastern Asia, and the Malay Archipelago, the penis is perforated near the glans with a rod of ivory or metal on either end of which are little knobs of gold or ivory. This device, which has been described by many travellers, is called the '*Ampalang*.' Among other peoples, little grains of gold or sand are skilfully inserted underneath the skin of the penis and cause the normally even surface of the penis to become uneven during erection. Others attach devices to the end of the penis before coitus, such as little brushes, feathers, and horse-hair, which project radially. Surely these are the prototypes of those rubber spikes which have been elaborated by the ingenuity of the super-refined civilisation of France. They are fastened to the glans penis by means of a rubber ring, and by their stimulation increase the pleasure of the woman during coitus. We shall have to deal later with this subject of the artificial enhancement of sexual pleasure. Before this brief digression we were talking of masturbation.

Referring again to the common objects used by women for this purpose, it should be mentioned that hairpins, matches, and similar small objects, are frequently inserted not into the vagina but into the urethra, and surgical operations are frequently necessary to remove them from the bladder. It may be asked why were they inserted into the urethra? The answer is, that the urethra, which has its external orifice very near to the clitoris, is also an erogenous zone, and its susceptibility is increased by masturbation. The surgeon can seldom or never obtain from the patient an answer to the question how these things came to get into the bladder, but the guilty look speaks louder than words.

It is a well-established fact that almost every young man practises masturbation at one time or another. This is due to the same causes

as nocturnal emissions. The accumulation of semen in the testicles causes a sexual irritation.

To what extent is masturbation prevalent amongst women? This question has for years been the subject of the keenest controversy. At the present day, however, most scientists are unanimous that masturbation is at least as common in women as in men. I shall not refer to the evidence of other writers, but merely report my own experience in this matter.

I asked 170 of my patients whether they had ever masturbated, and 155 admitted – sometimes, it is true, after much hesitation – that they had. The age at which it was commenced, the period over which it was continued, and the reasons which had led to it, were extremely divergent. The majority began in early girlhood and had never given it up; that is to say, the woman still masturbated, even after marriage, when for some reason or other, the normal act was not possible.

The majority of adult female masturbators are found among 'unsatisfied women,' those victims of our highly civilised sex code, or of cold, impotent husbands. The unsatisfied neglected wife has to choose between two evils – a lover or masturbation, and frequently chooses the latter.

Now for the important question of the harmful effects of masturbation. First, we must point out that opinion on this question has changed very considerably in recent years, and that nowadays we have regard primarily to two factors. Firstly, the frequency with which masturbation is practised; and secondly, the method employed. So far as the first is concerned, it is easily understood that with the first awakening of sexual feeling, young persons, in their ignorance, are apt to masturbate to excess. I mean, by excess, that one frequently finds girls who masturbate three, five, or even ten times a day. The physical injury which results from such excessive masturbation is of two sorts. Firstly, there is a considerable loss of albumen, which is debilitating; secondly, the sensitiveness of the erogenous zones becomes disturbed. As a result of repeated rubbing, the labia become hypertrophied and the nerve endings so hypersensitive, that the slightest stimulus is sufficient to evoke sexual feelings. The characteristic hypertrophy of the labia and clitoris enables the expert gynæcologist to recognise the habitual masturbator at a glance.[1] A further physical consequence of masturbation is that some of the erogenous zones lose their normal excitability, while others become over-irritable.

The consequence last mentioned can be explained by the fact that

[1] See note, p. 187.

every masturbator has her own particular technique, and has a favourite spot for her manipulations. This may be sometimes the orifice of the urethra, sometimes the clitoris, sometimes the entrance to the vagina, and sometimes the interior of the vagina. At the favourite spot the excitability may develop to such a point that the slightest stimulus is sufficient to produce the desired result. This may appear in itself unimportant or even desirable, but it may become a serious matter if this perversion of specific zones remains permanent. It may go so far that the woman cannot obtain an orgasm from normal sexual intercourse, or can only reach it with very great difficulty. This may lead to her becoming 'an unsatisfied woman.'

Another source of physical harm may be the introduction of foreign bodies, which may easily cause an injury, sometimes however only a slight one.

Bloch distinguishes between normal and excessive masturbation. The former he calls onanism (German '*Onanie*') and the latter, onanismus (German '*Onanismus*'), and rightly maintains that habitual *excessive* masturbation must, in every way, exert a very bad influence on the health. He is obliged to confess that the border-line between normal and excessive masturbation cannot be definitely laid down, since one passes very easily into the other. While we regard normal masturbation as understandable, its causes clear, and its so-called 'evil' consequences imaginary, it is obvious that excessive masturbation cannot be regarded too seriously or condemned too strongly.

Much more dangerous than the physical consequences of masturbation, are the mental effects. Especially in youth, masturbation is apt to drive its victim to deceit and hypocrisy. A girl addicted to masturbation seeks every excuse and tells all sort of lies in order to get to a secluded spot, even for a few minutes, in order to relieve her desires. The fear of being discovered, and the conviction that she is wicked, make her nervous and bashful. She has a furtive expression, and cannot look anybody in the face lest some one should discover her secret.[1] The artlessness of youth soon gives place to hypocrisy; ingenuousness changes to affectation. These results of masturbation are much more serious than the comparatively trifling physical consequences. When we reflect that it is *self*-reproach which is torturing the girl and that her psychical resistance is continually diminished, we can readily understand that her youthful gaiety will soon change to brooding and anxiety.

Parents, teachers, and doctors must combat masturbation especially

[1] Editor's Note. – I am not in agreement with this application of symptoms seen in a few cases, to masturbators in general.

in young children. There are innumerable books dealing with the best way of doing this, but most of them are written with such ignorance and prejudice that they are worthless. Usually they treat masturbation amongst males and females without distinction, which in itself shows a lack of understanding of the subject. In my opinion masturbation amongst women must be regarded as essentially different from masturbation amongst males, since the causes, methods, and consequences are quite different in the respective cases. Ultimately we come back to the necessity for suitable and sympathetic enlightenment of the girl by her mother, or better by a medical man. This task should not be left to teachers, no matter how trustworthy they may be. Whether the girl is already addicted to masturbation or not, a straightforward and *unexaggerated* statement of the possible consequences will be found more efficacious than punishment or strict control. The vigilant spying eye of the governess will only succeed in driving the girl to concealment and deceit; to increasing, instead of mitigating, the evil.

CHAPTER IV
LOVE AND MARRIAGE

In masturbation we have the phenomenon of self-gratification, that is to say, the sex impulse attains satisfaction in one's own person; but in the normal sexual act, the woman's satisfaction is dependent upon another factor, which is perhaps the most important thing in her life. I mean love – a word which is frequently used quite wrongly.

In Book II I expressly avoided the use of the word *love*, because it has been given such diverse connotations at different times and by different individuals. What is usually called love is really not one emotion, but a complex of innumerable feelings, which, projected by one individual on to another, lead to the desire for spiritual or emotional union.

This complex of feelings is undoubtedly also to be found among animals, save that, in this case, the mental element is lacking. Love between animals lacks the 'divine,' ideal quality, and exists simply as a motive for sexual union. It is just this absence of the spiritual element which marks the difference between animals and man ; so that with them, affection without sexual union is unthinkable.

In order to understand love it is necessary that we should never lose sight of this element of union, of 'oneness,'[1] and to understand what it involves. If we do so, we shall be able to appreciate the various kinds of love, and also to realise how falsely this word is frequently used.

The love of the child for its parents, and, in particular, the love of the girl for her mother, provides us with the elementary example of this feeling of oneness. The girl feels that the loving mother who cares for her so tenderly, is her truest friend and protector. Whether or not we accept the theory that all the typical feminine characteristics are latent in the germ-cell, the fact remains that the girl not only displays this affection more readily than the boy, but also knows better how to inspire it. What we call the *charm* of a little girl consists, *inter alia*, in this longing to love and be loved, in contrast to the rough, sturdy, independent demeanour of the little boy. He also loves his parents, but in an entirely different way. It is sometimes thought that little girls show greater love for their mothers because they are pampered by them – that it is due to gratitude. But this is not so. The girl's love for the father is also different from, and more intense than, that of her brother.

Thus, even in childhood, there is a difference between a boy's love

[1] See note, page 137.

and a girl's; and this difference becomes more marked about the tenth year. At this age the girl not only has a capacity for love; she positively *needs* love. She longs for caresses; and, if at no other time, knows how to obtain them by an appealing glance after she has been punished. In a similar situation the boy's conduct is very different; he is aggrieved and injured. When the girl has long since forgotten the punishment, when she no longer asks for caresses but already receives them, he is still defiant and sulky. This need for love is so deep that many a girl cannot sleep if she has not received the usual good-night kiss and knows that her parents are angry. It is the same need for love which drives her to friendship with another girl. The 'best friend,' as we have already pointed out, plays a very important rôle in the life of the young girl. The friend whom she loves and caresses, and by whom she longs to be loved and caressed in turn, has no counterpart amongst boys.[1] The boy would rather punch his friend than caress him. There is a marked contrast between the boy's exhibition of crude strength, and the girl's need to love and caress, but still more to be loved and caressed.

The little girl has a 'girl friend'; the flapper a 'dearest friend'; later on she has a 'best friend'; and these friendships go on becoming more and more superlative. In any case, the friend plays a more important part in the life of the young maiden than is usually suspected; so much so that, without her, life would be almost unthinkable. It is she to whom everything is confided, and with whom all joys and sorrows are shared. She is the first object of that love which will later be given to the other sex. She must be free from envy or jealousy, and ready to advise and help when sexual love first awakens.

It is usually during the flapper stage that the girl 'falls in love' with some boy about her own age. This is, of course, not real love, but merely an attraction to the male sex, due to the first awakening of sexuality in her. She feels a novel emotion, a tremulous foreboding, and becomes dimly aware that there must be some strange relationship with the male sex, which is different to everything which has hitherto happened in her life, and which reverses all the previous ideas she has had about love.

Her love for her parents was mostly gratitude and respect; the love for the 'dearest friend' rested on common interests; but this new feeling is more complex and is evoked only by the male sex. I said it was a foreboding of which she was dimly aware. It is a mere suspicion

[1] Editor's Note. – The author seems to have overlooked the extremely common affectionate friendships of the same sort between little schoolboys. There is scarcely a single English school story which does not mention such a friendship.

of some great unknown for which she yearns, but of which she is, at the same time, afraid. Love's awakening! 'First love' is not love at all. It is an experiment – an attempt to solve the mystery of the feelings which have suddenly awakened within her.

The first kiss, whether freely given or not, is usually disappointing and frequently arouses disgust. Although the 'first love' is a premonition of sex, it usually remains what we call *Platonic love*, because, instead of falling in love with a student, the girl is more apt to project this emotion on to an actor, preacher, teacher, or officer – all unattainable ideals, who merely become the objects of gushing sentimentality.

The first love of a flapper for a man deserves to be really called love only if this gushing sentimentality develops into a feeling of absolute devotion. For we cannot speak of love in the real sense, unless this feeling of oneness[1] is present even though it may be only on the mental plane. The adored actor, teacher, or officer is invested by the sentimental girl with a halo; day and night all her thoughts and aspirations centre on him – the king of men. She is grateful for every word or glance that he bestows on her.

The first love usually remains secret, because it is generally the source of the first day-dreams and the first stirrings of sex in the girl. Frequently too, it is the source of her first real unhappiness. For it is seldom reciprocated; or, if the man pretends to respond, he does so merely because he is flattered, and he really regards it as a joke. The girl is in love; the – man is amused.

In the next stage in the love life of the girl – the flirtation stage – these rôles are reversed. In flirtation the girl is merely playing with love. She now has much more than a premonition of sex and knows what real love is; she knows that it is based on sex and sex alone.

At this stage of her life, the girl finds great pleasure in making men fall in love with her, and in being surrounded by numerous admirers. She affects not to notice all the attentions which she receives, much to the pain of the man. It is almost as if the girl desired to have revenge on the male sex for the disappointments of her first love, for as a rule this has been nothing but disappointment. She will give him the greatest encouragement; she becomes more and more expert and subtle in the art of leading him on and raising his hopes, although all the time she is quite decided that these hopes will never be fulfilled. She finds pleasure in being wooed, but not in loving. It pleases her to see the sufferings of the man, she obtains satisfaction from seeing him consumed by longing and desire and finally disappointed. She is proud of her own power and of her calm assurance that she will never yield. Weininger calls coquetry *coitus par distance*;

[1] See note, page 137.

similarly we might describe flirtation as love-making without love. At best there may be a certain degree of interest and sympathy. . . . But, in the girl's unconscious, there is nothing but sexuality!

Flirtation may also be regarded as a sort of training and testing of her own emotions, in preparation for the real love which must come one day. The girl wishes to gauge her own capacity for emotion, and to learn what she has a right to expect from the man with whom she will one day fall in love. She wants to discover what real love is like, and how a man behaves when he is in love. After all there is no better way of learning this than by flirtation. The purely erotic aspect of flirtation will be dealt with later. By this I mean those preliminary sexual activities which Forel describes as accompanying every courtship; and which, if they never go any further, he regards as a sign of degeneration.

Without warning, when least expected, perhaps before he is wanted, 'Mr. Right' comes into the life of the woman, and with him the first real love. (Unfortunately in some cases he never appears at all.) It is impossible to enumerate in the space at our disposal all the many factors which make him 'Mr. Right.' Love is not a simple emotion but a complex of many emotions. Appearance, character, education, the circumstances of the first meeting – all these and many other fortuitous factors unite to make the girl realise that she has found her real mate. Ultimately the foundation of all is sexual feeling.

It was Krafft-Ebing who declared that Platonic love, i.e. love without this sexual basis, was a myth existing only in the imaginations of visionaries. *There is no such thing as Platonic love.* All love, no matter how 'pure' and ideal, is based on sex. Forel defines love as 'a sexual impulse originating in the cerebrum, the organ of the mind,' and these few words contain the gist of the matter. The upholders of Platonic love struggle in vain against this inexorable truth.

Since we deny that Platonic love exists, it is incumbent upon us to attempt to analyse the complex of feelings which constitutes love. We have already pointed out that love consists of a complex of emotions, the resultant of which is an unconscious feeling of oneness[1] with the object, and we illustrated this by reference to the animal kingdom. We must keep this fact in mind during the whole of our analysis. This complex of feelings includes a feeling of allegiance and responsibility, which shows itself in conduct and is dictated by that function of the mind which is usually called the conscience. Now certain species of animals, e.g. ants and bees, manifest this feeling of responsibility in a remarkable degree, while almost all species have it to some extent. I have in mind the animals which mate monogamously. They already manifest the beginning of that feeling of oneness[1] to

[1] See note, page 137.

which we have referred. Even among animals, the male exhibits a family instinct towards his mate and their young. The same feeling is shown among human beings, but is much more stable and enduring. The human male concentrates his real love on all those who are in any way connected with his sexual life, primarily on his wife and children. It is true that he may extend this love to more distant relatives, but this sort of love is very different and is based on very different motives. The egoism of every human being develops under the influence of this sexual love in two directions: firstly, it leads to the longing to obtain all possible advantages for himself and his family – the desire for wealth and happiness; secondly, it leads to the zealous protection of himself and his family – an attitude of caution against the loss of his happiness. The interaction of these two complexes is inseparable from love and results in an attitude of caution.

But all these psychical factors which go to the making of love are derived originally from sexuality. From this source, too, springs the great sexual love of the husband for his wife, and of the wife for her husband, with all its sorrows and joys.

And behind this sexual love, we find that mighty impulse which dominates all life and is stronger and more constant than any other force in the world – the sexual impulse. Ultimately it is this impulse which forms the basis of sexual desire, the feeling of allegiance and responsibility, the feeling of oneness[1] and mutual sympathy – in brief the whole of love.

We have already pointed out that the love of a woman for a man depends, *inter alia*, on his character and appearance. What we call mutual sympathy between a man and a woman is really nothing but the unconscious desire for sexual union. This desire is really the first step in that feeling of oneness[1] which is thus also based on sex, and in turn develops into the feeling of allegiance to the other party. The term 'sympathy,' so frequently employed by women, is one which is usually misinterpreted and misused. Indeed it is a sort of self-deception, and is used as a cloak for sexual desire – that longing for union with the beloved man, which we have called the contrectation impulse.

What a woman calls 'sympathy' is really nothing but the beginning of purely sexual love, no matter how its true nature may be concealed by this innocent word. This love is the dominating factor in the life of the woman; it is, in fact, the whole of her life, the essential purpose of her life. It is this that makes her a woman.

What is it that causes the girl to break through her habitual reserve and reveal her real feelings. The personality, boldness, and strength

[1] See note, page 137.

of the man, whether physical or mental, evoke in her a mixture of admiration, love, and desire to conquer him and to be conquered by him. It is sexual emotion, based on animal appetite, which causes the girl to feel obscurely that it would be wonderful to have this man as a protector throughout her life, to possess him, and to be possessed by him. How wonderful it would be to be the mother of his children, who would inherit his admirable qualities! How wonderful to share the pleasures of sexual union with him! These beautiful and sublime thoughts gradually come to dominate the girl completely, and lead all her thoughts towards union with him. Although she is quite unconscious of the mechanism of the process, it is as if this sudden change were a sort of passive courtship by the woman. I realise that the last phrase sounds paradoxical, but I do not admit that woman is so completely passive in Love as is usually said. She may *appear* passive, but within, she is active; indeed, almost as active as the male, with his violent courtship and the vigorous advances which he makes in the full consciousness of his physical and mental powers, once he has decided to possess her.

What is courtship? It is really a game, a battle, a *combat d'amour*, with hidden weapons. But these are so various that every woman's heart must be conquered sooner or later.

Thanks to his experience,[1] the man has already acquired a certain technical skill in the art of wooing, ranging from light dalliance and flattery to vigorous onslaughts and violent importunity.

Returning to the animals, we observe that it is exactly the same with them during the rutting season. In most species Nature has given the male a number of external features which attract the female e.g. the beautiful plumage of many birds, the tail of the peacock, the antlers of the deer, and the mane of the lion. As though this were not sufficient, she has also given the males of many species of birds beautiful singing voices. At the time of rut the male uses these external attractions for sexual purposes. He begins his wooing by fluttering around the female in his brilliant plumage, twittering his love songs, until he has succeeded in arousing her sexual desire, and developing her natural sexual impulse into an impulse for pairing and procreation. He makes himself as attractive as possible, and will follow her for days and days until she finally yields. But does she really *yield*? Is not this flight and refusal, even among animals, to be regarded rather as deliberately intended by the female to increase the

[1] Editor's Note. – In Anglo-Saxon countries, subservience to conventional morality often prevents the modern young man from gaining sufficient, or even any, such experience; and he is unable to woo his wife with enough skill to ensure her happiness either before or after marriage.

desire of the male? Is not this apparent passivity really part of the activity of yielding? But, once the male has succeeded in arousing the female's ardour, note the force and brutality with which he pounces upon her! To sum up, courtship between animals consists in the male first parading before the female with all his airs and graces, so as to appear as attractive as possible, then following her until she finally yields.

To return to human beings, we find that the process is the same even in small details. The man, when wooing, is fully conscious of his superior strength and makes use of two things. The first of these he has learned from the friends of his youth – the technique of the art, as we called it previously; the second is the fact that he knows quite well that beneath the woman's apparent calm is concealed a tumult of emotion, which, in some cases, may be merely sympathy and interest, but in others is the deepest love. He knows that her apparent passivity conceals the most intense activity!

However, it is necessary to examine this process of wooing in somewhat greater detail, because it affords us a more profound insight into the psychology of woman's sexual life. As we shall show later, all the special senses are employed in the service of eroticism, i.e. in the service of the omnipotent sexual impulse. The most important sense in this respect is the sense of vision. Every man knows that there are two factors in his external demeanour, by means of which he can make an effect on the woman. One is his general appearance, and the other is the strength of personality which he is able to project. This latter may rest either on a physical or a mental basis. The man wishes to make an impression, and only the man who knows how to do this has an easy conquest. As I have already pointed out, a woman desires a husband who will dominate her and whom she can dominate in turn. The man therefore submits – though often only in appearance – to this domination, and spares no effort to increase the woman's interest in him by the unconditional fulfilment of all her wishes. He pursues her, he captivates her by one device after another, before he actually speaks of love. The woman's chief weapons in this combat are the modesty which has been inculcated into her from childhood, and a second typically feminine characteristic – coquetry. She entices and refuses in the same breath, and thereby increases the ardour of the man. What she permits to-day, she will refuse to-morrow. One day he seems to have made an easy conquest; the next day, he finds he is further than ever from gaining his object. It is this policy of simultaneous concession and refusal which justifies my previous statement that woman's apparent passivity masks a real activity. For surely no one will maintain that the woman does all this unconsciously, and that such tactics are due entirely to modesty. The woman ponders

night and day how she can charm the man anew and bind him yet more firmly to her. It is exactly the same technique as we observed among the animals, where the female, although herself in heat, will at one moment approach the male and at the next flee from him. But while the process is purely instinctive in the one case, in the other it is quite conscious and well considered. Is not this real activity?

We shall now leave the modern civilised woman, and turn to the woman of the lower classes or of the primitive peoples. Even the woman of the lower classes does not yield immediately to the man. Among the peasants we find that the girl desires the strongest and most dashing of the youths; the better he can fight and the more rivals he can beat, the higher he rises in the estimation of the village beauty. It is impossible, within the space at my disposal, to give an account of all the various courtship customs prevailing in different parts of the world. The 'rough and tumble' contests at village festivals have become almost proverbial.

But the village maiden does not immediately grant her favours to the swain. Night after night he must place his ladder at her window, before she finally permits him to enter her chamber.

Is not the American Indian custom of wearing feathers, or the tattooing of many races, analogous to the natural adornment of the male animal? Are not the dances of savages, which culminate in the wildest orgies, comparable to those dances of the male animal around the rutting female? Thus in all details we have the peculiar customs of animal life transferred into human life; in the former it is instinctive, but in the latter, conscious.

We have sought to prove that in courtship woman does not play that purely passive rôle which is usually ascribed to her, and the truth of this view becomes still more obvious when we go a step further and investigate the sexual act itself, which now normally enters the woman's life for the first time. It is only the longing for sexual union with the chosen one which keeps the woman of our age and civilisation from yielding to her natural sexual impulse. The enormous value which is attached to physical virginity leads girls of the wealthier classes to masturbate rather than offer their virginity to a man, no matter how much they love him. It is interesting to note that to yield to him is always regarded as a sacrifice, as a favour; perhaps this is in order that she may have a greater claim on the man afterwards, or perhaps she herself really has this exaggerated idea of her sacrifice. She is willing to concede anything except the normal act of intercourse. It is only after the man has gone through all the stages of courtship, only after he has employed all conceivable arts and stratagems, that she yields, perhaps in a weak moment. Even then he must at

least promise to marry her, so that she is assured of 'being made an honest woman.' The refusal to permit normal coitus, together with ever-increasing desire for sexual relief, usually lead the girl to become a *demi-vierge*. This term is applied to those women who, although they still preserve the hymen intact, have already experienced all stages of sexual satisfaction – tumescence, orgasm, and detumescence, in the normal way, and the contrectation impulse, i.e. the union with the man to induce orgasm, in an abnormal way. It is difficult to say which is to be preferred: the girl who follows her inner nature and yields completely to the man, or the *demi-vierge* who is a liar and a hypocrite.

It is of course society's insistence on virginity which is responsible for this. The 'moral' world does not believe that the sexual impulse is a natural impulse and is usually only to be repressed up to a certain point and to a certain age; all restraints are unavailing when the impulse becomes stronger than the inhibitions, and this does not in any sense point to abnormality.

If we turn to the primitive peoples, we are compelled to admit that their views are saner than ours. The subject of virginity affords the clearest example of the high degree of repression required by civilisation. Most primitive peoples do not understand the conception of virginity at all. Children begin manipulating the genital organs when they are six or seven years old, and regard it as natural to carry out normal intercourse as soon as they have arrived at the age of puberty. Some of the Australian tribes attach almost the same value to physical virginity as we do, and as the peoples of our civilisation have done since the Middle Ages. This value is a false one. It would only be justified if the girl remained a virgin in thought and feeling too; so that virginity, instead of being merely an anatomical fact, had a real ethical basis. All else is deception and hypocrisy. The value which men attach to physical virginity is due purely to vanity and the egoistic desire to increase their own importance by being the first to possess a certain woman. This self-glorification of the male is an insult to Nature, and has its historical monument in the 'girdle of chastity' of the Middle Ages. In the Museum at Cluny there is an old French girdle made of iron, such as Crusaders used to put on their wives in order to ensure their virtue during the absence of their lords. This apparatus, which had a small opening near the vulva surrounded with spikes, made coitus impossible. This girdle was not for virginity, but rather for the preservation of conjugal fidelity. Anthropology affords many proofs that the value attached to virginity has fluctuated from time to time. Indeed the whole conception of morality varies with time and place. What answer can we

make to the Somalilander, when he asserts that his sexual views and conduct are right and ours wrong, especially as he has followed Nature more closely. The Hottentots, the Kaffirs, many of the West African tribes, some of the peoples of Eastern Asia and South America, attach no value whatever to virginity. Indeed, it is often regarded as a disgrace if a girl remains a virgin, as if she were so unattractive as not to be able to find a lover. Ploss-Barthels describes many peoples among whom promiscuous coitus is the rule, and the man has to pay a fine to the parents only if the girl becomes pregnant. The same author tells of peoples where the men will only marry a woman who has already had a number of children, since they regard a childless marriage as the greatest of all disgraces.

Thus we find some races valuing virginity very slightly if at all, while others manifest a care in preserving it which can easily become grotesque. This is the state of affairs with which we are familiar. We desire and presuppose that the bride is a virgin, but some peoples go even further, and demand public proof of defloration on the wedding-night, in the shape of a blood-stained sheet or nightgown. If a bride is so unfortunate as to possess an elastic hymen, such as we described in Book I, she cannot satisfy this test. She is repudiated with ignominy and her parents must compensate the injured bridegroom. Customs of this sort may be found to-day amongst the Ostiaks, the Tungusians, the Samoyeds, and some of the peoples of Mexico.

I have already scourged the hypocrisy and deceit which this ridiculous valuation of physical virginity produces in women, but it also produces deception in another form, namely in the attempts to simulate anatomical virginity if it has been lost.

Re-virgination, i.e. the artificial restoration of virginity, has aroused much interest in all races and all ages. There is a classic collection of material on the subject by Stoll, the ethnologist, in his *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*. Some of the peoples who attached a great value to virginity sought to make coitus technically impossible by sewing up the vaginal entrance at an early age. This operation known as 'infibulation,' was extremely painful, but similar means have been used throughout the ages to restore lost virginity. All methods of revirgination are as barbaric as infibulation, but women have put up with the former more willingly because they knew that it assured their happiness. All this is due to the ridiculous requirements of the vanity and egoism of men, who wish to be the first to have intercourse with a particular woman.

There is a mediæval poem *La Celestina*, which gives a very good description of the life and customs of the procuresses of that age, who were deeply versed in magic and witchcraft. In it we read the follow-

ing account of revirgination: 'As for maidenheads, she made some out of animal bladders, and others she fixed by sewing. In a gaily coloured box she had a set of furriers' needles and some waxed silken thread; she had roots of dogwood, Hoja-Plasma, onions, leeks, and carline. With these she worked wonders, so that when the French ambassador came she sold him the same girl three separate times as a virgin.' This quotation gives us some idea of the methods employed for revirgination in those days. In general, what was done was to sew up the vaginal entrance, and at the same time to employ caustic or astringent medicaments to cause contraction of the vagina. Such operations must have been extremely painful and dangerous, for they were not carried out by the skilled hand of the surgeon, but by some ignorant woman. Procuresses and barber-surgeons made a business of restoring lost virginity in France during the Middle Ages – *répare le pucelage perdu* They used rusty needles, blunt scissors, and various sewing materials, as well as broken glass, strong acids, and other irritants. It would be an error to assume that such practices are peculiar to the Middle Ages. I know that gynæcologists in modern civilised countries are frequently asked to perform surgical revirgination. The sensational London *Pall Mall Gazette* scandal in the eighteen-nineties brought facts to light which prove that, in civilised England, the mania for defloration led to a veritable cult, and that the demand for virgins could only be satisfied by girls being artificially revirginated three, four, or five times.

How about virginity to-day? How many, or rather how few, virgins are there to-day? I seriously doubt whether in the ideal, that is mental and moral, sense there is any such thing as a virgin over the age of fourteen, for a single attempt to masturbate deflowers the girl in the moral sense. However, to confine ourselves to anatomical virginity, the answer to this question proves, on close observation, to be far from satisfactory. The man in the street is easily deceived by various devices on the wedding night, such as pressing the legs tightly together, fixing the date of the wedding so that it will coincide with the menstrual period, or using irritants. From my own practice I can quote alum and a pad of cotton wool steeped in vinegar. But the doctor sees more than many patients want him to. The old motto, ***Mundus vult decipi ergo decipiatur***, must be modified in this context. The man wishes to be deceived – and he is deceived, more frequently than he thinks.

After having suppressed her sexual desires for so long out of modesty, chastity, or the care for preserving the hymen intact, a woman, on the consummation of her marriage, or, in cases of extra-marital liaisons, at the first sexual act, usually experiences only a slight degree

of pleasure. This surprises her. Again and again one hears from women the naïve complaint that they had imagined sexual pleasure to be much greater than it really is. The number of unsatisfied women is far greater than is appreciated. This disappointment may be partly due to some abnormality of either husband or wife, but it may occur even when both are quite normal. Whether a woman is highly sexed or not, it takes some time before she is able to experience complete tumescence and detumescence. The sexual feeling of the woman is essentially different from that of the man. I must try and make this clearer.

To remain outwardly passive, when she is really violently excited, requires great restraint on the part of the woman, both before, during, and after the act. This restraint springs from the modesty and chastity which have been inculcated into her. She forcibly represses her inmost feelings, and fears to betray herself completely even to the loved one, so that she really feels more pleasure than she shows. Outwardly, she remains demure. She wants to be won, and she does not begin to shed her conventional modesty until after a considerable period of intimacy in every-day life as well as in the marriage-bed. It is very difficult for her to reveal her feelings quite frankly. Has not this demureness a definite purpose? Is it not to increase the man's love, eagerness, and sexual excitement, and so heighten both her own and his pleasure? Or is it due to the fear of lowering herself in the eyes of her husband? When the female mole flees from the male and crawls into the most inaccessible part of the burrow, she does it from fear of the pain which intercourse causes her. Modesty and fear intimately connected are also found in the human female. The fear is twofold. Firstly the psychological fear that she may betray her sexual emotions, and secondly the purely physical fear from which no woman is ever free, the fear that she may be impregnated.

We hear it asserted on all sides that sexual feeling in the woman is different to that in the man. This is quite true as it stands, but it is frequently misinterpreted. The real difference is, that in the woman, the duration of the several stages of sexual satisfaction is not the same as in the man. In the latter, the climax is reached at ejaculation, and is followed immediately by lassitude. But the woman has both 'fore- and after' pleasure. By this I mean that for complete satisfaction a woman requires not only the sexual act itself, but also the preliminaries leading up to it and the events following it. We shall have an opportunity of going into this question more thoroughly later.

There is another factor which causes the development of the sex impulse to be slower in the woman than in the man; her previous education and mode of life. The result is that the feelings of tumes-

cence and detumescence awaken only very gradually, and are not very intense until some time has elapsed. This is why the newly married woman complains that 'she had thought it was all much "nicer" than it is.' She will not enjoy complete sexual gratification until the excitability of the erogenous zones has been increased by habituation to sexual intercourse. It is also necessary that there should be a change in herself; she must shed (at least to some extent) her modesty and prudery. Havelock Ellis has studied this question carefully and discovered that the modesty of the woman conceals a secret enjoyment. The woman enjoys feeling that she is doing something 'naughty'; a man does not, nor should we expect him to. Such a feeling is necessary in the party who plays the victim, but it would be out of place in the victor. This love of forbidden enjoyment is a perfectly natural impulse even in the pure woman. Risk and danger have a special appeal for women. Even Mother Eve had a longing for the forbidden fruit, which is sometimes thought to be a symbol for sexual knowledge.

Woman cannot experience complete sexual pleasure until she has conquered her shyness, timidity, and fear of the unknown, all of which are components of modesty. The length of time required for this naturally varies in accordance with the woman's character and her degree of sensuality, and also with the tactfulness of the man. Either in or out of wedlock, it is only the confidence engendered by complete habituation to each other which can make the woman forget her modesty, if only for a few moments during the sexual act, so that she may attain complete satisfaction. The longer the sexual relationship continues, the more intimate it becomes, the greater is her sexual pleasure. The so-called frigid woman, who is supposed to be devoid of all sexual feeling, is usually only cold towards *one* man; i.e. towards the man who does not understand the art of gradually emancipating her from her artificial modesty and releasing her natural sexual happiness. The gynæcologist meets with many cases of such unhappy, unsatisfied women. With increased knowledge of this subject, we have come to the apparently startling conclusion that there is only one remedy for the cold woman – a change of husbands. What she requires is another mate, one whose sexual overtures will not remind her of the brutal defloration which she suffered at the hands of her former unskilful lover; one who will know how to increase her tumescence until she too longs ardently for detumescence; one who will not think only of his own pleasure, but will delight in restraining himself in order to give her satisfaction too. However strange it may seem, it is true that even men of wide sexual experience seldom appreciate the fact that this consideration for the wife is essential for a happy sexual life.

CHAPTER V

SEX IN LATER LIFE

It is extremely difficult to describe the sexual life of the pregnant woman. In this respect there is a complete contrast between human beings and most animals. A female animal who has been impregnated during rut will not yield to the sexual approaches of the male. Many biologists interpret this as being for the protection of the young which are growing within her, but, although the maternal instinct is strongly developed in animals, we cannot accept this theory. The pregnant female sees in the male an enemy, from whom she flees and whose sexual approach is unbearable. In human beings we have the opposite. After the sexual act has been happily completed a woman feels drawn more closely than ever to the man, and the great feeling of oneness[1] which I previously described as the essential element of love, is really only completely achieved as a result of mutually tender sexual intercourse. The woman no longer regards the man as the conqueror, the triumphant foe, but sees in her lover her protector, the father of her coming child. This feeling of oneness is further increased by the sublime maternal emotion and also by the increase in her own voluptuous desires – her own sexuality. As a result, we find that the normal woman during pregnancy shows a marked increase in sexual desire. It is true that the unpleasant symptoms during the first three months of pregnancy may interfere with her sexual activity, but as soon as these troubles are over, her sexual desire reaches its apex. She casts aside the last vestiges of her assumed modesty.

We should note, however, that the same observation may be made where habitual sexual intercourse has not been followed by pregnancy. The popular idea that a woman reaches her full bloom only after sexual intercourse, is not unfounded; it is a scientific fact. It is as if the female body attains full functional activity of all its organs only as a result of sexual activity. The maiden who, before, was nervous and anæmic, now changes into a happy contented being who has reached the high road of life and radiates vitality. This is because it is necessary for mature adults to satisfy their sexual impulse. For a long time it was thought that one of the commonest of nervous disorders in women – hysteria – was connected with the sex-organs, more especially with the uterus. Physicians in Ancient Greece and Rome, in the Middle Ages, and even in recent times, sought for the explanation of hysteria in lack of sexual satisfaction. The uterus was pictured as an animal which, lacking sufficient food, created a dis-

[1] See note, page 137.

turbance within the woman's body; and they therefore sought to cure the hysteria by removing the disturbing element; i.e. by surgical removal of the uterus. Modern science has come to recognise that hysteria is a complicated nervous disturbance, which, since it also occurs in males, cannot be exclusively related to the uterus. But the modern doctor still agrees that unsatisfied sexual desire is one of the most important factors in the causation of nervous disturbances including hysteria. The sexual impulse, being a natural impulse, *must* be gratified. Nature takes no account of moral or legal prohibitions and will exact revenge if one of her impulses is denied satisfaction.

The most typical example of unsatisfied sexuality is found in the 'old maid.' In Book II we tried to analyse the psychology of this unfortunate type, and mentioned that unsatisfied sexuality plays a much bigger part than is usually realised. The old maid presents the most complete contrast to the radiant young bride. In the one we have the forcible repression of sexual desire, the denial of animal impulse, and deliberate asceticism; in the other we have the deliberate fulfilment of these impulses, the enjoyment of the most intense pleasures, and, as a result, a continuous increase in happiness and physical health. The old maid grows old and withers because she denies herself the satisfaction of sexual desire. Though it may appear to be far-fetched, we suggest that she should be compared with the eunuch, who also ages prematurely, for the starvation of the sex glands is, in a way, not unlike their surgical removal. Man should not defy the laws of Nature; if he does so he pays for his arrogance in physical and mental suffering.

We now pass to the consideration of woman in her prime. She continues to thrive, thanks to the continuous exercise of all her vital functions; she blossoms as a result of sexual activity; she blossoms as a result of maternity. It is true that she may also fade prematurely as a result of maternity, if she sinks into becoming a helpless childbearing machine. Here we meet with an apparent contradiction in Nature. Nature has associated pleasure with the sexual impulse because she wishes to lead human beings to exercise their sexual impulse, in order that the race may be perpetuated. But what would become of the woman if, during the prime of life, she submitted entirely to Nature? The result would be a continuous succession of pregnancies, an eternal round of bearing, suckling, and rearing, of children. Under these circumstances must she not prematurely age and wither?

The ingenuity of the human race has found a way out of this dilemma. Successful experience has taught us to pursue the opposite path to that indicated by Nature. Woman only blossoms in her prime if she is free from care, worry, and pain; and where is the

woman who would be happy and free from care if every act of sexual intercourse resulted in a pregnancy? The human race has always sought to obtain what is advantageous and pleasant, and to avoid what is unpleasant. Thus various means of contraception were devised, some of which make it possible for the woman to enjoy the pleasures of sex without the ensuing misery of pregnancy.[1] The longer, the more frequently, and the more intensely she has sexual enjoyment, and the less she is harassed by fears of unwanted pregnancies, the longer does she remain young and attractive.

We now come to the question: how often should sexual intercourse be enjoyed under normal circumstances? No general rule can be laid down. It depends on the character, age, and sexual vigour of the parties. We pointed out, when describing the female body, that after about thirty years of activity the sexual organs of the woman retrogress at the menopause. Out of these thirty years about ten are usually lost because in our civilisation a woman seldom begins regular sex relations much before her twentieth year. (*Regular* in the sense that they are recognised by the world and may be indulged freely.) With men it is different, since they frequently begin their sex-life as soon as puberty has been attained (possibly at first in the arms of a prostitute), and soon have a regular sex life. Who does not know of the young roué who marries an innocent maiden: he nearly at the end of his potency, and she still untouched and eagerly looking forward to the joys of marriage. But we must not take this example as typical; we shall consider the normal situation, the happy marriage. The love of the woman for her husband – her feeling of oneness – depends in a really happy marriage on three important factors – spirit, mind, and body. If any one of these three is lacking, then the love and marriage are on an insecure foundation. The love becomes one-sided; exclusively sexual, exclusively mental, or exclusively spiritual; i.e. it is only the satisfaction of sensual desire, or of mental sympathy; or it becomes that ridiculous imposture – Platonic love. Although we should always remember that each of these three elements is essential for real love, we must realise that for both man and woman sex is by far the most important of the three. It follows that sexual activity is the most important fact in the life of a woman. Sexual attraction should not cease when the honeymoon is over. At the commencement of the union the sexual impulse sometimes leads to orgies in the truest sense of the word; the longing for possession and the sudden release of restraint increase sexual desire to enormous

[1] Editor's Note. – Many contraceptive methods are unreliable, and many harmful. See my article on the 'Technique of Contraception' in the *Practitioner*, July, 1923.

and often excessive proportions. The youth and virility of the husband and his ardent love for his wife find ever new food for the flames of sex, and frequently lead, during the early weeks of the marriage, to an abuse which results in exhaustion and satiety. The young bride, who is now being introduced to the pleasures of sex for the first time, is, during this period, at least as prone as the man, to appear insatiable. But when the first intoxication is over, then the order of importance of these three factors must be reversed, if the marriage is to be a happy one. The spiritual and mental feeling of oneness must now form the foundation of conjugal harmony; although, in the unconscious, sex still remains the chief factor. The sexual act becomes a regular habit and easily helps man and wife over the many obstacles, both trivial and serious, which naturally stand in the way of complete mutual understanding between two persons who hitherto have led separate lives. If monogamous marriage, as required by Church and State, is to attain its object, then sexual intercourse must be undisturbed, sincere, mutually desired, never forced, and at the same time must be regular and uninterrupted. The sincerity will come from the feeling of spiritual and mental unity, but regularity will only be assured if both partners, but more especially the wife, take care to remain attractive.

Unhappy marriages, which are so terribly frequent, are usually due, fundamentally to the lack of complete mutual sexual satisfaction. The first intoxication may ebb, but it should be soon followed by a new tide which causes still higher waves in the spiritual life of both husband and wife. If we pursue this metaphor of the tides, the cause of which lies, as is well known, in the moon, then we may say that the woman must play the part of the moon. She must offer ever new attractions to the man and she must understand how to make herself sexually desirable. If she does not understand this art, or if the love has gone altogether with the ebb of the first intoxication, then the possibility of a happy love-life has gone, and the seeds of an unhappy marriage have been sown. Then begins what women call 'neglect.' The neglected woman is really the sexually unsatisfied woman, and her love soon changes to hate.

For this reason there should be continuous sexual activity in marriage, and there should never be long intervals between successive sexual acts. Exception must, of course, be made for a short time before and after confinement, when, as we have already noted, the woman is regarded by most primitive peoples as 'unclean.' From the standpoint of modern science we are unable to lay down any definite rules as to the frequency of sexual intercourse, as Luther once did. He prescribed once or twice a week as a rule. The deeper the har-

mony, mental and spiritual, between the two parties, the more naturally will sexual harmony be established. If the woman remains attractive and modest, and the husband continues to respect and appreciate her, the sex life will regulate itself. It is also essential that they should learn to accommodate themselves to the degree of each other's sexual appetite. It is certainly sheer brutality for an excessively sensual man to abuse his wife whenever he desires; but it is just as brutal for the woman to demand the unlimited satisfaction of her sexual desires without making allowance for the strain which the tasks of everyday life impose on the husband. Mutual understanding and sympathy must regulate mutual desire.[1]

I have already referred to the evil consequences of the pious maternal advice given to the girl before marriage, and insisted that the husband seeks in his wife not merely a housekeeper but much more. Moll asserts that it is a mistake for a man to demand that the wife 'should be something of a prostitute.' But why drag in the word prostitute? In what sense does Moll understand the word 'prostitute' in this context? Surely a husband is not asking his wife to be a prostitute if he asks her to keep her love fresh and employ new arts in intercourse! Surely it is not even remotely connected with prostitution if the twentieth-century man desires that his wife should be his mistress as well. The husband's love will fade sooner or later if the wife does not think it worth her while to continue to dress herself tastefully and make herself attractive and desirable. The sexual element will inevitably decrease if the husband never sees his wife except when she is washing clothes, or attending to the children, or cooking. And, on the contrary, the love and happiness will always increase if the wife understands how to keep the lamp burning on the altar of sex. Moreover, the sexual life of the woman will also develop at the same time, and she will obtain more satisfaction. A happy marriage finds its crown in children. Childbed is the woman's field of victory, and she renews her own youth in that of the child. All these factors increase her happiness and expand her emotional life.

As we said in Book II, woman in the prime of life is the absolute slave of her sexuality. It is sexuality which spurs her on to higher and higher ambitions, both for herself and for her husband, and causes her to have her eyes always directed upwards. To deny this is to fail

[1] Editor's Note. – It seems to be the common assumption, even among intelligent people, in Anglo-Saxon countries, that the majority of husbands make excessive sexual demands on their wives, and that cases where the wife is more highly sexed than the husband are rare. My gynæcological experience has led me to the conclusion that there are just as many women whose sexual appetite exceeds that of their husbands, as the contrary.

to recognise the connection between what *seems* and what *is*. Coquetry, which Weininger discusses so acutely, is one of woman's many sexual manifestations. It satisfies the woman merely to feel that she has a sexual effect on any man, and that she exerts an erotic influence. The woman seeks every opportunity of experiencing this sexual titillation. She not only obtains satisfaction from her own sexual life, but that of other women affects her more than is usually thought. Every woman is a born procuress! She finds sexual pleasure in thinking about the sexual life of other women, and obtains vicarious satisfaction from their love affairs.

Note how eagerly women pry into other people's love affairs, whilst men have no interest in such things. It is a mistake to think that this radiation, this indirect activity, of the sexual impulse is to be found only in the highly cultivated woman. The study of even the most primitive peoples shows that women are all procuresses to some extent. A glance at the life of the peasants or the lower classes shows us the same phenomenon. We have an excellent proof in the great number of wedding customs which are the peculiar prerogative of women. Once a woman's own sex instinct has been awakened, it must be continuously satisfied in some way or another – directly or vicariously. This appetite needs satisfaction no less than hunger or thirst. Morality is responsible for restricting or preventing the satisfaction of this appetite in actual fact, whereas the man is allowed more freedom. Thus it comes about that her thoughts take a different direction to those of the male.

We must now pass on to woman in her decline. She fades physically, mentally, and sexually. These three words should really be placed in the reverse order, for it is the sexual factor which is the most important. The fear of losing her erotic influence on the other sex and of being deprived of sexual pleasure, is the fundamental element in the psychology of the woman during this period. She looks anxiously in the mirror and watches for each new wrinkle or grey hair; this is only through fear of old age and of the loss of sexual pleasure. The daily decline of the woman, as the menopause approaches ever nearer, means not only a decline in beauty, it means the loss of all those things which make her a woman. With the beginning of the menopause and the decline in activity of the ovaries, the sex life comes to an end.

But the woman foolishly attempts to circumvent the stern decree of Nature. She refuses to submit to this deprivation. Anxiously she awaits the moment of its arrival, and is filled with a wild passion to enjoy to the full, while she can, all that has been repressed for so long. Libido (sexual desire) is never stronger in a woman than during, and

immediately after, the menopause. She will do anything, however foolish, which will bring her nearer to the realisation of her desires.

The passion for trying to appear youthful is only a defence-reaction against the extinction of sex. The 'dangerous age' is dangerous because at this time the woman may easily forget all that has hitherto been sacred to her, in the attempt to attain one object – to defer the moment of renunciation. It is easily explicable why the glance of such a woman falls preferably on a young man, because to conquer, love, and satisfy, a younger man is easier than to obtain the still desired response from one more experienced. The curious, and to the ordinary man incomprehensible, fact that ageing women often enter into liaisons with youths, and appear to have a passion for corrupting immature boys, and that for this they will sacrifice time, money, reputation, everything – can only be explained by this 'menopause complex.' Women who, when young or in their prime, were most dignified and respectable, will forget everything, sacrifice everything, in order that they may still live, love, and enjoy. . . . But it is useless to rebel against Nature!

The woman declines and her beauty fades; but sexual desire remains. Only when the woman herself realises that there must be an end of sexual enjoyment, and that it is unreasonable to go on fighting against Nature any longer, does peace come. She now finds solace in her memories and obtains vicarious satisfaction from the sexual activities of – other women! It is now that the procuress in her finds full scope. The mother does not only play the procuress for her daughter in order to ensure the future happiness of the child; she does so *unconsciously* in order to experience, at least vicariously, some sexual excitement. In her daughter's love affairs she finds a sexual titillation. Notice the pleasure, interest, and attention which ageing women take in the secrets and love affairs of young girls. It is simply a psychic orgasm! How ready and willing they are to recall their own youth, and hand on good advice to the younger generation. The man may boast of his love affairs to others, and like being regarded as a Don Juan. But the woman does not boast in order to impress others; she wallows in her memories, for her own satisfaction!

We now pass to the last phase of woman's life – old age. Here again the differences between the sexes is marked. The aged woman is sexually exhausted; the extinction of sex as a result of the menopause is concealed for many years, and the woman may refuse to admit it herself, but eventually the truth will out. The 'old lady' is incapable of sexual excitement. One chapter in her life has been closed for ever, and in her hours of loneliness the memory of what has been causes many a sigh. Man remains sexually potent as a rule

to a much more advanced age than woman, and if he is healthy there is no sudden change comparable to the menopause. His potency declines gradually. Exactly when the end comes is difficult to say, and the stages of decline leading up to it are also indefinite. First he loses the capacity to produce living spermatozoa. Though he is still sufficiently potent to carry out the sexual act, the secretion ejaculated no longer contains living sperms. As it is expressed technically: he has *potentia coeundi* without *potentia generandi*. The same condition may be observed in young men whose testicles have been impaired by venereal disease. They may have *potentia coeundi* and may marry but they cannot have any children. When *potentia coeundi* also disappears, that is to say, when he is quite impotent although desire may still persist – then his sexual life is also over.

We have attempted, in the foregoing pages, to describe the sexual life of woman from its first awakening to its final extinction. Again and again we have had to emphasise the fact that sexual activity is a vital necessity for women. In discussing the old maid we noted the consequences of sexual starvation. The controversy as to whether sexual activity is one of the necessities of life cannot be regarded as at an end, and indeed it is doubtful whether it will ever come to an end, for views on the subject fluctuate. But the majority of thinkers have held, and still hold, that, since the sexual impulse is given to human beings by Nature, it requires satisfaction just as does any other impulse. That forcible repression is bad for every one, but more especially for women, can be seen by the serious consequences of abstinence, a description of which I desire to quote. It is by an English medical man, whose name is unfortunately not known to me, and it will be found in an article on 'Fundamentals of Social Science' in Dr. von Gizycki's *Extracts from the World's Literature on Ethics and Psychology*.

'Chlorosis frequently develops after the age of puberty as a consequence of unsatisfied sexual desire. In most cases this is the result of a love affair which has resulted in disappointment or deception. The whole personality of the young girl is overwhelmed by this calamity, and she falls into a decline, rejecting all the well-meant but unintelligent consolations offered by her friends. It is in vain that they try to distract her by tenderness or by providing amusements; it is love she requires, not friendship, and she can find no peace without it. No suffering is more terrible than that which unmarried women have to endure. In general, people have no conception of the enormous number of women in England who remain unmarried. According to the latest vital statistics, the numbers of men and women

between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five in the rural population are about equal; but in the cities there are 203,912 more women than men. In London alone there are 73,312 more women than men. Scotland is much the same. In Edinburgh there are 15,536 more women than men, which is nearer equality than any other city in the United Kingdom.[1]

'When we reflect on these facts, and take into account also the great number of men who remain unmarried, as well as the great numbers of both sexes who cannot afford to marry until late in life, we get some small idea of the misery and suffering which women endure from unsatisfied sex and from being deprived of the joys of family life. How often do we see the case of the budding girl full of life and hope, who goes on from year to year without ever satisfying the deepest passions and emotions of her nature! She soon loses her brightness and gaiety; she becomes discontented, restless, forced; the bloom fades from her cheek and the smile from her lips; peevishness and moodiness replace the bright sunny disposition; and finally she becomes another victim to hysteria and other sexual disorders. Why do we shut our eyes to these patent facts? Is there one of us who does not know, from his own experience, the intensity of sexual desire and the torments of continued repression? Would not any man be overcome with jealousy and despair at the sight of others enjoying the blessings of sexual satisfaction, if he himself were doomed to abstinence against his will? But the woman suffers even more, because as a result of our unfortunate social system she depends upon love to a far greater extent than man. There are many other pleasures available to men, from which women, especially unmarried women, who have so little freedom, are excluded. Of all the slow-drawn-out agony which human beings suffer, there is none so terrible as that which myriads of women around us have to endure. The sunshine goes out of their life; the brief dream of romance and poetry is shattered by the bleak reality of an unfulfilled, monotonous existence. Loneliness gnaws at their hearts.'

The author blames the prevailing social conditions for hysteria in females – that nervous disorder which is always related to sex.

'The causes of hysteria are to a large extent the same as those of chlorosis, except that in the former it is primarily the mind and nervous system which is disturbed, instead of nutrition and blood formation, as in the latter case. Among these causes we may reckon: faulty methods of education, both physical and mental, which weaken

[1] Editor's Note. – These figures are now obsolete, and the disparity is now greater.

the nervous system and predispose it to disturbance. But the peculiar causes of hysteria are to be found in stimulation of the sexual appetite without satisfaction. This is the cause of the great majority of cases of hysteria. A young Indian officer once told me that hysteria is almost unknown among the women of India, and we know that in India it is almost a religious duty to provide a woman with a husband as soon as she has arrived at the age of puberty. It is regarded as a sin not to procreate as many children as possible. Among ourselves, on the other hand, few illnesses are so general. Hysteria is found most frequently among the richer classes, who suffer especially because the lack of sexual activity is more likely to dominate the minds of people of leisure, and in addition the sexual desires are stimulated by such things as the reading of fiction and poetry, dancing, and theatre-going, all of which paint the pleasures of love in bright colours. But no class of society is free from it; it is found in the palace and in the hovel, for in all classes the majority of single women spend a great part of their life without any sexual satisfaction or outlet for the yearning to love and be loved, which is the strongest and most divine instinct in the breast of youth. Let the reader ask himself who are the usual victims of this disease; they are unmarried girls, widows, or unhappily married women. Note the peculiar physical and psychological symptoms, and then imagine what must be the consequences in a delicate and sensitive girl of denying satisfaction to the strongest of natural impulses. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the primary cause of hysteria is sexual starvation. A curb is applied to the natural appetites; they are thrown back on themselves. Is it not inevitable that they will become disordered and that the whole nervous system must suffer? Instead of the emotions flowing freely in the proper channel, and thus irrigating all around, they are hemmed in in the dark underground channels of the mind, so that they burst forth to cause floods and destruction. What should have been the girl's greatest pride and pleasure becomes a shame and a torment. All her lively and beautiful feelings must be concealed and repressed. Poor unfortunate! Can we wonder that shyness, confusion, and debility result? Nature cannot endure this repression, and shows in the wild disorder of hysterical attacks, or in an outburst of nymphomania, that she will not be denied. The passions of youth are like the fire of Vulcan; ultimately they will break through in spite of all restraints.

'Now is it right for wise and sensitive people to ignore these facts? However little we can do to remedy this terrible evil, we should at least face the truth about its cause. But people refuse to see the evil results of sexual abstinence, and blame the sufferer because she "gives way to the feelings she cannot satisfy." It cannot be that the much

idealised *Virtue* is responsible for so much misery! The fault must lie in "original sin" and "the depravity of human nature." And so, with the usual error of Christian morality, the fault is attributed to Nature. It is easier to complain of the sinful nature of man than to remedy the defects of our social system.'

Woman – Love – Sexuality! These three concepts are inseparable; each meaningless without the other. Three ideas which have ruled the world since the time of Adam and Eve.

'. . . But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground. And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul. . . . And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him. . . And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman because she was taken out of Man.'

'This is the first love story. Since then, all men have lived love stories, poets have written them, all hearts have welcomed them eagerly. For the thousands of years of human history, love has not altered. Though fanatics have tried to stifle love in sackcloth and ashes, and destroy it with the fires of Hell; though society has tried to conceal the naked facts in elegant forms to suit its aims – Love has remained the same. Like the fire, we may extinguish it, but we cannot make it burn cool. Where Love reigns, all checks, all the cloaks of civilisation, fall to the ground; and the end is as the beginning – Adam and Eve.' – (P. K. Rosegger.)

BOOK IV

THE EROTIC LIFE OF WOMAN

CHAPTER I
TOUCH

THE sexual impulse originates in the central nervous system; it develops at a certain period in the life of the individual, remains active for a certain time, and serves the purpose of the propagation of the race. Like all other impulses, it must be satisfied; but for this, certain external factors are necessary. The 'object' has the same relation to the sex instinct as food and drink have in relation to hunger and thirst. In order that it should be satisfied, there must be another human being, who, by his or her presence, and as the result of certain stimuli arising from this, exerts an attraction which first arouses, and finally satisfies, the impulse. But the sexual impulse differs from hunger and thirst, in that it does not arise spontaneously at regular intervals, and demand unconditional satisfaction. Even when it awakens, – at the time of puberty – it is not *absolutely necessary* that it should be satisfied immediately. The word *necessary* is crucial in this context. A human being *must* eat and drink in order to maintain life and health. A human being *should* exercise the sexual impulse, but it is not (in the same sense) *necessary* that he should do so, as the existence of sexually abstinent persons proves. Repression of the sex-instinct may certainly have a harmful effect on the body and mind but it is not fatal to life. The sexual impulse may therefore be restrained and regulated. To what extent this is possible depends on the general character, education, and will-power, of the particular individual, and not, as is the case with hunger and thirst, on purely physical factors.

All the desires associated with the exercise of the sex impulse, constitute what we call *eroticism*. This concept is frequently misunderstood and confused with sexuality. Sexuality and eroticism do not mean the same thing. They are not even related in the sense that one is generated by the other. Rather we may say that we have two mental phenomena, both based on the same emotional complex. One of these is innate – sexuality; while the other, – eroticism – is acquired, and represents the expression or activity of the former. This latter activity is, of course, causally and in every way dependent on the strength of the sexual impulse. It is really synonymous with the desire to satisfy the impulse, and depends on the inhibitions which are peculiar to the particular individual. If we make this distinction between sexuality and eroticism, it is clear that the popular use of these two terms as synonymous is erroneous, and that the terms eroticism and erotic are usually used incorrectly. Every one is *sexual*, since the sexual impulse is inborn. But only those persons are *erotic*

whose sexuality seeks activity under all circumstances without inhibition. This activity need not necessarily lead to the sexual act; it may be satisfied by some sense impression.

Sexuality is already latent in the new-born babe; it awakens at the time of puberty, gradually develops during a period of years to its highest point, and then declines. But eroticism is something acquired; it is deliberately cultivated. In some cases it may, for one reason or another, develop prematurely, and may go on increasing, thus producing that type of hyper-erotic individual which is very frequently met with. In other cases, being hindered or repressed as the result of a certain sort of education, it may produce the non-erotic or sexually indifferent type. Whether the particular individual is or is not erotic, he cannot satisfy his natural innate sexuality without the aid of various stimulating sense impressions and emotions and thus, though perhaps only transitorily, becoming erotic. For no one can satisfy the sex impulse until he or she has been eroticised.

Not only is the word eroticism used wrongly, but also there is frequently a failure to differentiate between the two aspects of eroticism as applied to a particular individual. For eroticism may be either active or passive; and we need two words – *eroticising* and *erotic*. All the occurrences, objects and situations which are usually called erotic should not be described as erotic but as eroticising, that is, they have an erotic effect on the individual. The term *erotic* involves the idea of passivity, as contrasted with the activity which is indicated by the word *eroticising*. In the course of our discussion of the parts played by the several sense organs in the sexual life, we shall have occasion to stress this distinction between *erotic* and *eroticising* quite frequently.

We have entitled this part of our book 'The Erotic Life of Woman,' because, in the course of it, we shall try to show that the shy, chaste, modest woman really has a definite erotic life, and can really give her sexual feelings adequate expression only if she obeys the more or less clamorous demands of her peculiar eroticism. We must begin by pointing out that female eroticism shows such definite and unvarying characteristics that we are justified in regarding them as peculiarly and typically feminine.

We have already in Book III referred briefly to some of the factors which are essential for activating woman's sexual impulse. We noted that tumescence requires various stimuli, which are included in the general term 'courtship' by the male. Now these stimuli depend on the several sense organs, and it is only as the result of their combined effect that the stage of tumescence leads on to the stage of contrectation and to sexual union. These stimuli are frequently described

as auxiliaries of sexuality, but in my view they should rather be called auxiliaries of eroticism; since the mere functional activity of the sex organs is possible without them, but not a really complete activity, i.e. eroticism. Usually the sense impressions have a direct effect upon the central nervous system, but this is not essential; once certain impressions have been experienced the mere *recollection* of them may be sufficient to produce an eroticising effect. We have already seen an example of this in the ageing woman, who, by wallowing in memories of her past sexual life, is able to some extent to eroticise herself.

The man in the street does not realise to what extent all his sense organs serve eroticism. Touch, sight, smell, hearing, taste – all are loyal subjects of the great god Eros, the mighty ruler of our lives. Havelock Ellis would exclude taste from this tyranny, and regard it as a satrap of the sense of smell, but I hope to be able to prove, without reference to perversions, that there is no reason to exclude this sense. We shall now proceed to discuss each of the senses *seriatim*, in relation to the erotic life of woman, and begin with *touch*, which is of most importance in this respect.

It seems that Nature has intended the sense of touch to play an important part in the erotic life of woman, since she has endowed various parts of the female body with the most delicate nerve endings, which are peculiarly sensitive to eroticising stimuli. We call such areas 'erogenous zones.' The most important of these are the nipples, and the parts about the vulva, especially the most sensitive of all – the clitoris. But, in addition to these more obvious erogenous zones, there are also other areas on the outer surface of the body, which are more or less sensitive, and may thus be regarded as erogenous zones. These particular areas vary from individual to individual. It has been demonstrated physiologically that all those parts of the body which are 'ticklish' are really erogenous zones. Many women have such a zone in the neck, some inside the external ear, some again along the spine increasing in intensity towards the buttocks. When we read, in Oriental books on sex, that a popular form of sexual enjoyment consists in allowing the feet to be tickled, we realise that the explanation is that the soles of the feet are also an erogenous zone.

All the parts of the body mentioned here, but especially the pudendal area (vulva, labia, and clitoris), are extremely sensitive to touch and to eroticising stimuli. But Nature has also provided other, in some cases quite inconspicuous, parts of the body, with an abundance of nerve endings which are connected with the sexual centre in the brain. I mean those parts of the body where there is a transition from external skin to mucous membrane. As examples we may cite the *labia majora*, which mark the junction of the skin with the mucous mem-

brane of the vulva; or even better the mouth with its extremely sensitive erogenous lips. The mouth is indeed so important in this respect that we must deal with it in detail, but first it is necessary to explain the part played by the sense of touch in general.

Turning for a moment to biology, we note that young animals always have a desire to nestle closely to the mother. Although this can be explained by the purely practical object of securing warmth and protection, it cannot be denied that the young animal has a pleasurable feeling. Experiments were made by wrapping young animals in warm clothing and wadding in order to reproduce experimentally the condition of warmth, but the animals still sought contact with the mother. The same phenomenon may be observed in children. I differ entirely from the view of Freud, that the newly born infant obtains erotic pleasure from sucking its mother's breast; this explanation is alluring but I am unable to accept it. It is however a remarkable fact that every child always seeks contact with adults, especially with its mother, and that every child loves to be stroked, embraced, and 'cuddled.' If danger threatens, the child feels quite safe as long as it may press close to the mother or even touch the hem of her dress. I would call this the primary stage of the activity of the sense of touch, out of which gradually develops exquisite tactile sensitiveness both active and passive. Active, in that the child soon begins to touch other children, its parents, or other persons of whom it is fond. Passive, in that it always enjoys being stroked and caressed. What do we mean by stroking? We mean the gentle contact of the inner surface of the hand with some part of the body. The intensity of the stimulus occasioned by it depends on the part of the body stroked and the kind of stroking. It varies very considerably. Thus, the gentle contact of a velvety hand is pleasant; whereas stroking by a rough horny hand is much less pleasant, even though it be the hand of a beloved person. Now the same sort of stroking which constitutes such harmless fondling in children, has in later life a powerful erotic effect upon the one who strokes and an eroticising effect on the one who is stroked.

We here note the first of many examples of the activity of a sense organ which has an erotic effect on both parties. The child not only likes being stroked, it also likes to be fondled. The simplest form of caress consists in pressing one's own body tightly against that of the loved one. In this manifestation of the sense of touch the stimulus is increased on account of the greater surface of contact. The mother presses the child to her loving breast. In later life, persons in love always desire such physical contact, no matter how limited or transitory it may be. Hence the customs of lovers of walking hand-in-

hand or arm-in-arm, or those many secret manœuvres, ranging from a gentle furtive pressure of the hand, to the pressing of knees and legs under the friendly cover of the table-cloth. This apparently inadvertent physical contact is a good example of the rôle of the sense of touch in eroticism.

Going a step further, we ask why it is that dancing plays such an important part in courtship, and indeed in the life of every woman. Is it not because dancing, which is quite approved and indeed encouraged by respectable society, affords a unique opportunity for close physical contact with members of the opposite sex? Do women really dress so scantily for dancing, only as a precaution against becoming overheated by the exercise, or is there another reason? Perhaps so that there will be the least possible amount of clothing separating the two bodies during the dance? Dancing will be discussed fully later; here, it is mentioned only to draw attention to the importance of the appeal to the sense of touch, in the physical contact which it permits.

The above-mentioned stroking and caressing may, under certain circumstances, have quite a considerable erotic and eroticising effect, but this is negligible compared to the stimulus exerted by similar activities applied to the erogenous zones. The effect on these exquisitely sensitive regions is much more elementary. Stroking, touching, or gently pressing the erogenous zones stimulates their nerve-endings; this stimulus is communicated to the sexual centre in the central nervous system and produces the primary stage of tumescence. It is well known that a gentle stroking of the nipples causes them to become harder and bigger and to project from the breast – a phenomenon called erection. It can also be easily demonstrated that similar stroking or pressing of the labia or clitoris will cause a similar phenomenon in them. It is natural, in view of the specific function of the last-mentioned organs, that the effect of touching or stroking them is much more powerful and continuous than that produced in any other part of the body. So that where it may be possible to induce orgasm by fondling the nipples for a certain length of time, the same climax could be attained in a fraction of the time by fondling the more sensitive centres.

Of course, the degree of excitement and the time necessary to produce it, depend on the excitability of the individual. Indifferent, 'cold,' women naturally take much longer than those who are more sensual. But there is also another important factor. The person responsible for the stimulus makes a great difference to the intensity and duration of the excitement, as do also all the surrounding circumstances.

Continuing our observations we next come to the stimulation evoked by the mutual contact of highly-sensitive areas. The contact of the mouth of one individual with any part of the body of another is called a kiss. More even than in the case of the general contact-stimuli just mentioned, the effect of a kiss depends upon the person and the occasion. The sexual kiss may have both an eroticising and an erotic effect, whilst the chaste kiss, which parents press on the foreheads of their children, or which friends give on the cheeks when parting, may be quite without erotic effect. This latter kiss is merely a symbol, inherited from childhood, of friendship or affection, and is quite devoid of sexuality. The kiss of lovers is very different. The kiss of mouth to mouth involves the contact and pressure of two highly erogenous zones, of two of those transition-areas between outer skin and mucous membrane. It is not without reason that it plays such an important part in love.

The first kiss at the awakening of love is the first sign of mutual sexual desire and indeed marks the beginning of tumescence. It is impossible to account for the pleasant sensation to which it gives rise, in any other way. If we realise this fact we can easily understand the partiality shown by women for kissing. Women are prone to kiss or allow themselves to be kissed, where there is no thought of the actual fulfilment of the tumescence by detumescence. Thus we have the kisses which flappers so characteristically bestow on each other, which are eroticising but in which the erotic motive is quite unconscious. The lovers' kiss is, however, very different. It accompanies all the stages of tumescence and detumescence, and together with other factors may play its part in accelerating or intensifying tumescence. Thus we have such modifications as the tongue kiss; in this, besides the contact of the quivering lips, the tongues are brought into contact to evoke still greater excitement. This may be taken as the type of definitely unchaste kiss, and the woman who offers or permits such a kiss frankly avows her sexual desires. It is very different from the chaste kiss of denial with the lips pressed tightly together.

It is interesting to find, in ancient Indian erotic literature, descriptions of the different varieties of kisses. In the *Vatsyayama*, which contains an exhaustive treatise on the love-life and shows us the Hindus in all stages of love from the cradle to the grave, we find the kiss divided into three varieties. The first of these, ***nimi-taka***, is described as follows: 'If the maiden yields only after much solicitation, and then suffers her lover to kiss her on the mouth, but makes no movement herself – this is the measured kiss.' The second, ***sphuri-taka***, is described as follows: 'If the maid is a little less modest, and retains the lover's lip in her mouth, and allows her own lower lip, but

not the upper, to quiver – that is the quivering kiss.' The third or highest variety, *ghatti-taka*, is as follows: 'If, with eyes closed and one hand concealing the eyes of the lover, she clings to him and gently pushes the tongue into his mouth – that is the tongue kiss.' These three varieties of kiss were regarded by the Hindus as indicating a measure of the desire of the woman for the man. The world has gone on for thousands of years since, but the kisses of our women are still strictly in accordance with the ancient Indian erotic formulæ, though they are unaware of it. Instinct, love, eroticism, teach them how to kiss. The woman knows quite well what she wishes to express, and the lover grasps her meaning quite well.

It is necessary to refer here to another sort of kiss, although I am dealing in this book only with normal sexual phenomena. This is the kiss imitated from the animals, which consists in pressing the lips to the genital organs of the loved one. This kiss, which has a much more intense erotic effect than any other, is often regarded as a perversion. What does the rutting animal do before the sexual act? For a long time the male licks the vulva of the female, in order to excite both her and himself as much as possible; and only after these preliminaries does he actually perform the sexual act. Now should we regard what is perfectly normal among animals as a perversion when done by human beings? Emphatically, no. Havelock Ellis insists that such kisses should not be regarded as 'unnatural,' since their prototype is found in animals and among almost all the tribes and races of mankind. 'As a form of contrectation and as auxiliary to tumescence, this is quite *natural* although it cannot be regarded as *æsthetic*. It becomes unnatural – in the real sense of the word a perversion – if it is used to produce not only tumescence, but also detumescence.'

In this variety of kiss, which operates on the most obvious erotic zone, we have a proof that another sense is involved in kissing besides the sense of touch, namely, smell. The animal is attracted by the odour of the sex organs, and it is for this reason that he chooses this mode of preliminary activity; so, among human beings too, we may say that this sort of kiss has attained to the great position which it occupies in the love life only through its association with the sense of smell.

The fact must be frankly faced that the tongue kiss and the kiss last described play a great part in female eroticism. The woman wants her kisses to eroticise both the man and herself as highly as possible, and it is only her training which prevents her admitting this. There is no woman who does not really desire, and who would not willingly permit, these kisses. Even the woman who has been chaste all her life; even the woman who, in the very climax of passion, still

pursues that phantom, modesty; even such women will easily be brought to the point where they cannot forgo the pleasure of these 'unchaste, unæsthetic' kisses, when once they have been fully and completely eroticised by means of them.

To sum up briefly what we have noted about the influence of the sense of touch on the erotic life: we see that stroking is the most primitive, and the genital kiss the most developed, form of appeal to this sense, and that they are erotic and eroticising at the same time. There are thousands of fine nerve-endings subserving the sense of touch, and these are all enlisted in the service of sexuality.

CHAPTER II

SMELL AND TASTE

WE pass next to the consideration of the sense of smell, which, although it may appear improbable at the first glance, plays a very important part in the erotic life of woman. It seems desirable to give a general account of this sense before dealing with its particular application to our subject. The sense of smell in human beings varies greatly with the individual as well as with age and race. There are persons whose sense of smell is congenitally dull and in whom it never becomes keen. It is as if nature has deprived them, either wholly or partly, of the gift. Young children are, as a rule, indifferent to odours, because they have not yet learned to differentiate between them. In the normal individual, with time and natural psychological development, the sense of smell increases to a certain degree, where it remains for the rest of life. Thus the child learns from adults to distinguish between pleasant and unpleasant odours, and the degree to which this sensation is developed depends indubitably on the sensitiveness of the adults from whom it learns. It varies considerably according to race, climate, and other factors. Some peoples have a very acute sense of smell; for instance, it is a well-known fact that some Indian tribes can detect by smell the approach of a member of a strange tribe some miles away; others again are extremely insensitive in this respect, among whom are the peoples of the extreme North, such as Greenlanders and Eskimos.

The scientific knowledge of this subject was for many years very inadequate, and rested mainly on some observations made by a pupil of Linnæus, Andreas Wählin, about 1752. He divided all odours into seven classes, to which he gave names based on their resemblance to odours of certain familiar substances. Thus he distinguishes between aromatic odours, onion-like odours, ambrosial odours, goat-like odours, nauseous odours, pleasant odours, and unpleasant odours. For each of these seven varieties he gives a well-known plant as a type so that the reader can understand from his own experience what sort of odour is meant. The classification of odours was a matter of great difficulty, because there was no fundamental principle of classification except by thus referring to odours which were characteristic and familiar. A better classification, which to-day must be accepted as the only one of any value, is simply into pleasant odours, indifferent odours, and stenches. This classification avoids reference to already familiar odours, and is based entirely on their effect on the human olfactory organs, and it is certainly the only one which is of any use in the study of eroticism. All odours which are pleasant have a positive

eroticising effect and all which are unpleasant have a negative effect.

Reference to the history of ancient peoples, and to contemporary primitive peoples, shows that, although its effects are not sufficiently or correctly appreciated, the sense of smell was, and is, extremely important. Thus we frequently read of the customs of various peoples of anointing their bodies with sweet-smelling oils. Almost all African explorers tell us of races whose bodies shine with fat and stream with ointment. We are apt to think that Negroes, Chinese and Japanese have an unpleasant odour, but do not reflect on the effect of our own odour upon them.

What is the cause of the odour of human beings, whether pleasant or unpleasant? It is the result of various components. Most important is the general body-odour: – the odour of sweat and the odour of the other excretions. The odour of the skin, the armpits, the mouth, the hair, the pudenda, and the anus, are the chief features calling for consideration. The resultant of the several components is by no means the same in every human being, but on the contrary each individual has his or her specific odour. In addition, the special odour of a particular individual also varies, in accordance with his age and the general condition of the body at the moment. Thus it is not the same in rest as in activity; nor in the morning as at night. The variation is due both to external factors and to processes which are taking place within the body, either of which may cause an increase or decrease in the intensity of the odour, as well as making it more or less pleasant. Now let us consider this question in its particular application to woman.

The human body is furnished with innumerable sweat glands, which are more strongly developed in some parts of the body than in others. The sweat secreted has a specific odour, and does not evaporate rapidly on account of the clothing. Moreover, some of it is absorbed by the underclothing in immediate contact with the skin, so that the body is, as it were, always enveloped in a cloud of odour. This observation does not apply only to unclean people who do not wash frequently; for even the most cleanly person stores up such a cloud of odour in the course of a single day. This is the chief component in the specific body-odour of the individual. In woman, in addition to this odour of the sweat, there is also the odour due to the secretion of the moist mucous membranes of the genital organs. This mixture of odours has an eroticising effect on the male, and its effect can actually be heightened by certain means; primarily by the strictest cleanliness, which will diminish the unpleasant components, such as those due to the secretion of the genital organs. When we remember that, during menstruation, a certain amount of decomposed

mucous membrane is discharged with the blood, it is only to be expected that at this time the unpleasant component is much increased; so much so, indeed, that it may completely overcome the other components. In this case the effect will no longer be eroticising as stated above, but on the contrary the odour will have a repellent effect and kill all sexual desire.

In addition to this general body-odour, there are certain particular elements, as for example, the odour attached to every living hair, and the odour of the mouth, which again is specific to each individual. The odour of the hair is more or less constant for each individual, but the odour of the mouth – i.e. of the breath – depends on hygiene. This last component is due to processes, partly normal, partly pathological, taking place in the mouth. Carious teeth are the most important factor in rendering the normally sweet odour of a woman's mouth unpleasant. Such a smell is really nothing less than a stench. But, even apart from this, the odour of the breath may become unpleasant. Every morning on waking, the odour of the breath is less pleasant on account of the empty stomach and the diminished activity of the salivary glands during sleep. Like the general body-odour, the delightful breath from the mouth of a woman who attends to her teeth properly may have an active eroticising effect on the male. It is, perhaps, even more important than the body-odour, since the mouth-odour plays an important part in the kiss, which is such a great erotic stimulus.

Having discussed the ways in which the woman has an eroticising effect through appealing to the man's sense of smell, we must now consider how the woman, in her turn, may be excited by the man through this sense. The body of the male also exhales its specific odour, in which, however, the component due to the genital organs is almost completely lacking.[1] This is because the male genital apparatus does not open freely externally, and does not contain exposed damp mucous membranes comparable to those of the woman. It is true that there is a secretion between the glans and the foreskin, which, with lack of cleanliness, may cause the genital organs to have an unpleasant odour. The hair also, as in the woman, has its specific odour, and again there is the mouth-odour, which, however, in most cases is disguised by the habitual use of tobacco. It is interesting to note that the really unpleasant, fusty smell in the breath of a man due to tobacco may have an eroticising effect on the woman. I know of many cases in which the woman hates the excessive smoking of her husband, but does not wish him to give it up entirely, because she does not

[1] Editor's Note. – The male genital organs, however carefully cleansed, have a definite sexual odour which may have an eroticising effect on the female.

wish to forgo 'the pleasantly exciting smell of a burnt cigarette.'

We have already observed that there are great variations in the odours of different human beings, and in the erotic effect which they have on both men and women. This is why, from earliest times up till to-day, they have always tried to eliminate everything unpleasant in these sensations and to increase the pleasant components wherever possible.

In some species of animals, the female attracts the male by appealing to his highly developed sense of smell. In like manner the human female has always been ready to improve her own odours and to eliminate all unpleasant factors. A thousand and one devices are used for this purpose. What the ancients achieved by anointing the body with perfumed oils (Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria* recommended them to women) is to-day effected by the many perfumes always found on the lady's dressing-table. The working woman may confine herself to washing with perfumed soap on Sundays, or perhaps every evening when her work is over; but the woman of the middle classes, and still more so the woman of the upper classes, employs a variety of cosmetics and essences. Various perfumes, hair oils, mouth washes, perfumes for the genital organs, scented powder, creams – all have their place in the daily toilet, and all, without exception, for the purpose of exercising an effect on the male. It is true that, as a rule, the woman does not know that this effect is purely eroticising, and is innocent of any such conscious purpose, but the result is quite obvious. Every woman wishes if possible to have her own particular perfume, which is used by nobody else; and when she wants to make a particularly strong impression she attaches great importance to this deliberately specialised perfume. Thus it is that the cosmetic industry has assumed such enormous proportions, and that young and old, high and low, city lady and village maiden, are all addicted to their use. Nor is it wholly to be condemned, although it may be carried to excess and defeat its own object. Some men have an idiosyncrasy against certain excessively pungent odours, so that a certain sort of perfume may arouse disgust and thus cause a distaste for the woman using it. Who has not had the unpleasant experience of sitting near an over-perfumed woman, and observed how everybody avoided her. We see here a similar phenomenon to that which appears when normal people are disgusted by the strong odour of the sweat of an unclean person. I say normal people, but the normal is subject to great variation. To illustrate this remark, I shall quote from Otto Stolls' *Sexual Life in Folk-Psychology*: 'Some years ago when I was travelling on a French ship to the West Indies, the boat called at Martinique to coal. The coaling was done by Negresses, who naturally wore their

oldest clothes, mere rags. They worked hard all day and were released in the evening to return to their huts. After dinner, I was taking a walk ashore, and by chance met a party of these Negresses. They exhaled a penetrating odour like musk, which was perceptible not only in their immediate vicinity but at some paces distant. I could not say whether the smell came merely from the body or from the sweaty clothes. But the Negroes, who had come to fetch the women from the ships and were accompanying them home, marched on apparently without the least discomfort from this odour, which to a European was overpowering and only comparable to the smell of a herd of sheep, except that it was much more pungent.'

We might almost go so far as to say that the intelligence, refinement, and subtlety, of a woman are indicated by the means she uses for disguising her body odour. The more discreet and subtle the means, the more intelligent the woman; more intelligent because she shows that she appreciates the eroticising influence of odour on the male.

As I have already pointed out, the normal physical processes of the female body, at menstruation and even more after child-birth (during the lying-in), contribute to make the usual body odour very much stronger, and to give it an erotically negative or repulsive effect on the male. This is due, of course, to the smell of the vaginal secretions.

It may well have been this circumstance which led many primitive peoples to regard the woman as unclean during menstruation and after childbirth, so that the approach of the male at such a time was prohibited. Thus we find in Leviticus that a woman was unclean at the time of menstruation, and that anyone who came in contact with her abode or clothing or any utensil she used, was also unclean. Similar views are found among most Oriental peoples, among the tribes of America, and in Australia. The unclean woman is isolated from all human habitation, and from all fruitful soil, because her mere odour would kill the plants and pollute the air. It was only natural that these poor creatures, so unjustly despised, should devise means for diminishing the unpleasant odour associated with their uncleanness. Thus, as we learn from various accounts, prescriptions exist for the purification of the sex organs at this time; e.g. strong-smelling herbs were burned alongside the women. Indian erotic literature, which deals with all sexual matters in careful detail, naturally contains recipes for dealing with the body odour. Thus, under the title *Anga-raga* in the *Ratirahasya* ('Secret of Love') of Kokkoka, we find medicaments for the smell of sweat. 'An evil odour may be removed by inunction with a paste made of powdered shell-

fish, water, pomegranate, and mango, or an ointment made of Tamarind seeds.' A long list of vegetable and mineral ingredients follows, and we are told that the mixture 'will remedy unpleasant odours due to the secretion of sweat in the hot season.' We also find measures for dealing with an unpleasant breath, for perfumed waters – our modern 'scent' – and also for fumigation. The ingredients are all very subtly chosen.

The natural odour of the woman's body, apart from artificial 'improvement,' has always been an important element in the love-life of all peoples. In this respect, the odour of the armpits and that of the genital organs have been most important. This natural feeling has remained, despite the refinements of civilisation and morals, and is found in our own age among civilised peoples, though, of course, the modern man of refinement requires that the elementary demands of hygiene and cleanliness should be observed. The importance of this eroticising influence is testified by many popular customs, some of which have disappeared, but some of which still persist, though they are frequently misinterpreted by the people themselves. The customs which I am about to describe are popularly regarded as 'charms,' but it is forgotten that there is really no more potent charm in human life than – eroticism! Women are rather more prone to such beliefs than men, for the woman is naturally more easily drawn towards the supernatural and the miraculous. But all that is usually summed up in the term 'love-charm' really represents nothing more than the combination of all the qualities, features, and emotions, which tend to produce that wonderful feeling of oneness.[1] From earliest childhood, the education of the girl gives her an idea, though perhaps a confused one, of this 'charm' which first appears as the charm of the little girl. But when we speak of a 'charming' child, do we not mean a child who charms us into loving her. This charm which, in a child, evokes only the most honourable feelings in us, changes in the adolescent girl and in the adult woman into a series of purely eroticising stimuli. The charm and magic of love are falsely interpreted, especially by women, because women, by their mental disposition, are naturally prone to superstition. From this superstition have arisen many love-customs, to which women usually attach much more importance than do men. This may also be the explanation of the passivity of women in love; while the man has at his disposal a great many weapons which he uses in the various stages of courtship, the woman has nothing but her charm, which, therefore, if it is not sufficiently potent, must be augmented by various means which will be described in the sequel. What is more natural than to attribute magical powers to the secre-

[1] See note, page 137.

tions of the female body, especially the sweat and the blood, far exceeding all other magical powers in their potency?

The blood was first selected for this important role, because it was always regarded as the noble 'life-juice,' but soon the sweat, with its specific smell, came to be regarded as equally important. There are many accounts, according to which the smell of sweat has been the basis of a sudden consuming passion. 'Henry III (of France) was seized with a passionate lifelong love for the Princess of Clèves, when, on the day of her betrothal with the Prince of Condé (18th August, 1572), he happened to dry his face with a kerchief which the Princess, heated by the dance, had removed from her person and left in the ante-room. Henry IV would perhaps never have experienced his great passion for the lovely Gabrielle had he not, at a ball, happened to wipe his forehead with her handkerchief immediately after she had used it.' Such legendary tales as these have persisted in a credulous world, and have given rise to a belief in the magic power of 'love-charms.'[1]

Though both of these stories may be 'legendary,' we find, in the cases which follow, that the legend has long since been forgotten. In Hesse the maiden steals a shoe belonging to the man she loves, wears it for some days, and then returns it, believing that the odour it has acquired will have an undying spell over him. Among some of the Slav peoples, in Bohemia and Silesia, the girl carries an apple, a piece of bread, or a piece of sugar under the armpit, long enough to saturate it with sweat, and then gives it to the loved one to eat!

But these naïve customs appear quite harmless when compared with the unsavoury practices of some primitive, and therefore even more superstitious peoples, who spread on a piece of bread some of their ear-wax in order to awaken or heighten love. We might again quote from Ploss-Barthels the magic prescriptions used in the Spreewald, which are so gross as to appear almost incredible. 'If a girl cuts herself she should let the blood drop into a glass of beer and give this to the man she desires, to drink. She can also place something edible in the armpit, and when it is saturated with sweat give it to him to eat. He will also become kindly disposed towards her, if she touches him with a toad which she has caught. If a youth wishes to be loved by a maiden, he should put a roll of bread under the arm, dance till it is saturated with sweat, and give it to her secretly to eat. He should also take three hairs from the back of her neck while she is sleeping, and wear them in his vest pocket. In some places they say that he should put a live frog on to an ant-heap, and then remove himself to a distance, so that he cannot see or hear it; then, returning after

[1] Ploss-Barthels' *Das Weib.*

some hours, he must take one "hand" of the frog, give the girl his other hand, and press the frog's hand into hers. He will also make the girl love him if he cuts the little finger of the left hand and gives the blood secretly to the girl to eat.'[1]

These 'love-charms' may appear to us neither lovely nor charming, but the similar use of menstrual blood and urine, which we find recorded of some primitive peoples, are positively disgusting. We can conclude our discussion on the importance of the sense of smell in the erotic life by asking: 'Where in the world is there a really loving and sensitive man who is not happy to obtain a handkerchief, a piece of ribbon, a lock of hair, or some other such thing, as a token of the loved one?' And where is the woman who, fully conscious of the effect of such gifts, does not 'prepare' them in some way or other? The part played among primitive peoples by the natural odour of the woman's body is replaced among us by perfume.

Very closely related to the sense of smell, is the sense of taste, which, however, is comparatively unimportant so far as eroticism is concerned. That is, unless we accept the theory that certain dishes have a stimulating effect on the erotic feelings. It is well known that such properties are popularly ascribed to certain fish or parts of fish, and to caviare. Similarly, crabs, oysters, and some plants such as celery, are said to stimulate the sexual appetite. Experiment has, however, so far failed to provide a satisfactory proof of these properties. It is true that pharmacology knows of many means of increasing male potency and female desire; but these drugs, usually termed aphrodisiacs, do not depend on taste for their effect. If the sense of taste is to be included in the subject of eroticism, then the only example which occurs to us is the kissing of the genitals, in which perhaps the sense of taste plays a certain part. However, the several other senses are so important in such manifestations of love that the taste component is comparatively negligible.

[1] Von Schulenberg, *Wendish Mythology*, Berlin, 1882.

CHAPTER III

HEARING

Of the senses still remaining for discussion, sight is the more important, but I shall deal with hearing first. On superficial examination, the ordinary reader would fail to see the important part which this sense plays in the erotic life, but this is due to our habit of deliberately shutting our eyes to many phenomena. If we turn to the animals, we find that the sense of hearing is extremely important in the sexual life, and we shall deal with this before applying our conclusions to human life.

One of the most obvious facts of Natural History is the almost marvellous development of the sense of smell which is found in some species of insects. If females of the emperor moth are put in a cage in the open air, the males will be attracted from miles around. But if we study Natural History we find many examples of the arrangements provided by Nature so that the sense of hearing, too, may play its part in the sexual life of animals. It is impossible in such a book as this to go thoroughly into these matters, or to account for the origin and purpose of such phenomena as the chirping of the cricket, the throating of the deer, or similar vocal methods of attraction; but we do wish to dwell upon the difference between the sexes in this respect. The male is usually the better endowed in respect of vocal apparatus, among both the birds and the higher animals. The throating of the deer is only heard at the time of rut, i.e. this call only occurs periodically, and is in complete contrast to the almost silent roe. The crowing of the heath-cock is also heard only at the time of rut.

Just as though they had learned from the animals, primitive peoples also produce sounds for the purpose of having an eroticising effect on the woman. Stoll tells us of the very interesting Oriental custom of wearing adornments which emit sounds. These are kept carefully secreted, and used *inter alia* for their eroticising effect. Muhammad Ibn-Omar et Tunsi tells in his *Voyage au Ouaday* of the women of Dar For, who wear strings of glass beads or other stones round the loins next to the naked skin: 'The purpose of this adornment is to excite the men, and increase their passion during coitus, by the gentle jangling sound which they produce. If a man meets a woman and wishes to make love to her he touches her on the girdle and the beads rattle. If the proposal is acceptable and the woman is silent and makes no attempt to flee, he takes her hand and they come to an understanding. That the women carry these beads only for the sake of the rattling sound, is proved by the fact that only the first strand is tightly bound, the remainder are movable and hang down.' Lindschotten

describes a male counterpart of this female adornment in an account of Pegu (India): 'Many of the natives of Pegu wear in front of the *quoniam* (i.e. penis) one or two bells, each about as big as a walnut, which are suspended between the glans and the foreskin. These bells may be seen at Dr. Paludano's; I gave him some which I brought from India. The bells have a pleasant sound, and the custom of wearing them arose because the Pegusians were much addicted to sodomy and it was hoped that they would be restrained from this vice by means of the bells.'

This is the most primitive form of audile erotic stimulus, but we have a more developed form of the same thing in the music which is used by savages in their dances. There is no doubt that, to their ears, the wild beating of a 'tom-tom' sounds as beautiful as the most sublime music to us.

In our own times, among civilised peoples, quite apart from music, we find certain sounds, in themselves unpleasant to the ear, but which, on close investigation, must be regarded as having the same purpose as the jingling adornment of the savages. Thus in Austria the peasants going to the fields with their teams early in the morning, crack their whips very skilfully. The more artistic the whip-cracking, the better are the village beauties pleased, and they soon learn to distinguish the different lads by the notes of their whip-cracking. Lastly we may mention an example from the most highly civilised classes, which is essentially the same as the jingling adornment of the savages – I mean the almost electrical effect of the rattling of the sabre or the clanking of spurs, on the female sex.

But all these types of audile stimulus are relatively unimportant compared to three other types, which depend for their appeal on the refinement of the voice and ear. I mean speech, song, and music.

The speech of human beings is very different from the use of sounds by animals. The latter betoken warning, fear, sexual desire, or perhaps the approach of death. But human beings have developed in speech, that is the systematic arrangement of regular sounds, a means of communication which prevails in various forms all over the world. The variation in languages is due to the fact that sounds produced by the human organs of speech (larynx, tongue, lips, teeth) which we term vowels and consonants, are capable of an infinite number of permutations, so that the ear has to be trained to interpret the particular sounds used in a language. The word language involves two elements – the sounds produced by the voice and the meanings which are attached to them. It may happen that a strange language, which sounds unpleasant to us, is regarded by the people who speak it as most euphonious. We must realise that the conception of the effect

of sounds varies from individual to individual, and depends on the specific training which one has received in childhood.

There is no doubt that language, though perhaps quite unconsciously, may have an important influence in the erotic life. Think of the tremendous effect of the sonorous voice of an orator if he knows how to use it like a musical instrument. The emotions evoked in us by speech are due to the combination of the influence of the music of the voice, and the meaning of the words.

The most superficial observation will show us that the rôle of language in the erotic life is positive rather than negative, i.e. it is eroticising rather than erotic.[1] It is not necessary to deal in any detail with the 'love whisper,' which has a frankly sexual overtone and serves a purely erotic purpose, but I would like to point out that a man's voice may have an eroticising effect on a woman, even though he is some distance from her, and though no definite word of love is spoken. Thus, for example, it has been frequently observed that an orator, preacher, or actor may much more easily win the heart of a woman than an ordinary man. It is true that the general atmosphere, the 'aura,' the make-up may be a contributing factor; but it is, none the less, true that, apart from these, the sound of the voice and the choice of words have a powerful eroticising effect. If a woman admires a certain man for his appearance, think of the effect on her if this Adonis – stutters! She will at least be terribly disappointed and will probably lose all interest in him.

But even the eroticising effect of speech is inconsiderable in comparison with music and singing. The song of birds consists of a melody of single notes arranged in a pleasing sequence, and human song is essentially the same. But while in animals it is only the expression of a joyous mood, singing can be used by human beings to express any emotional tone, whether joy, pleasure, grief, pain, or despair. The effect is due not only to the words sung, but also to the influence of the melody on the sense of hearing. It is the sequence, intensity, and duration, of the notes, and the intervals between them, which give the melody its character, whether sad or gay – what in musical language we call rhythm, major and minor. This difference of effect is due, not so much to the melodies themselves, as to the susceptibility of our ears for these differences. Who does not know the mournful songs of the Slavs, which make us sad even though we do not understand the words; while, on the other hand, we have the gay student-songs which make every one feel gay and bright.

[1] Editor's Note. – Many persons find it exciting to use certain forms of speech during sexual excitement – for instance, to swear or use coarse words, so that speech may be eroticising to the speaker as well as to the hearer.

The effect is enhanced if the words arouse the same emotions as the music, and women are much more susceptible to this effect than men. For women, singing may be either erotic or eroticising. Most women are susceptible to the effect of a beautiful song even though it is not well sung, especially when it deals with the joys and the sorrows of love. With closed eyes, rapt, the woman listens to the sweet melody, and has no idea that the quickening of her pulse is due to the eroticising effect of the song. But this effect may be enhanced if the song is sung by a handsome singer so that the eye helps the ear. Of this we have sufficient proof in the adoration of famous singers by women. Many a respectable woman has abandoned home, husband, and children to roam the world with a singer by whom she has been infatuated; and the power of his personality over her did not depend on his character as a human being, but rather on the eroticising influence of his voice and his singing.

What of the other aspect – the eroticising influence which a woman exerts by singing? This also is seen so frequently in every day life, and there are so many historical examples of it, that it is superfluous to deal with it at length. The artless village maiden attracts the man by her simple ballad, and the famous prima donna quickens the pulses of all men by her art. The great estimation enjoyed by famous artistes among their admirers and lovers is due primarily to the eroticising effect of the voice, though some part is played by the man's desire to be known as the husband or lover of such a gifted woman. No one can doubt the influence of the art of the woman singer, but its effect is even more obvious when combined with acting, as in opera. It is interesting to analyse the effect of the different types of female voice on the male. First comes the soprano, with her joyous high notes, which are so suited to the great love songs; next the velvety contralto, with her characteristic melancholy. The embellished singing of the coloratura, on the contrary, may fascinate with its extraordinary skill, but usually leaves the heart of the male auditor 'cold.'

What we have said of singing, applies with still greater force to instrumental music. The power of music has been less celebrated by the poets than the power of song; but its effect is really greater, both in solo instruments and in the orchestra. Each of the various instruments has a distinctive effect on the ear, in accordance with the degree to which it resembles the human voice. Who would deny, for instance, that the tone of the 'cello or violin has a very different effect on the emotions, from that of the piano. Who would expect to obtain heart-rending effects from the kettle-drum or the bass viol? The symphony, in which the effects of the several instruments are combined, is the highest type of music, and the great composer can by this means

convey his emotion to every one. But here again we note the influence of civilisation and education on our response to sound. Where do we find, in the music of savages, passages which seem even remotely beautiful to our ears, or which touch our emotions at all? Where, on the other hand, is the savage people on whom our music has an effect comparable to the effect on ourselves? The human ear is educated from childhood to increase its susceptibility to certain sound effects, and the result varies in each individual. Does not the reason for the opposition to Wagner in his time, and to modern music in our own age, lie in the fact that we lack the ability to understand the emotions which the composer is trying to convey, because our ears have not yet been educated for these new impressions, just as the ears of Wagner's contemporaries had not been educated to his music?

Music by itself, without the help of words, may have a much greater eroticising effect on men and women than is usually realised. Here there is no distinction between the two sexes, such as we made in respect of singing. The degree may vary, but the actual effect is the same for both sexes; that is, of course, so far as we are considering really musical people. The enhanced effect obtained by the addition of words is best illustrated in opera. Every one of the leading operas has its 'great scene,' on which it counts for its effect on the public; and even though superficially the effect aimed at may appear to be tragic, terrifying, or awful, in reality the power of music whips up all the senses and especially the sexual emotions! Consider the most modern type of opera, with its 'naturalistic' imitative music – is it not sensuous, seductive, and in the highest degree eroticising? Sensuous it must be, because the composer is trying to express in the music the emotions of the characters in the play, which in these operas are mostly sensuous and erotic. Though it is true that both sexes are *equally* susceptible to the power of music, it will be found on close observation that women are much more rapidly, and much more intensely, affected by the eroticising stimulus of music. It is also a fact that the after-effects are more enduring in the female sex; and, not infrequently, the last Scene of the last Act of *Tristan and Isolde* has given the motive power to the first Scene of the first Act of a real love drama between two persons.

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CHAPTER IV

VISION

All the senses dealt with so far are insignificant in the erotic life when compared with the greatest, mightiest, and most active of all sense organs – the eye. This statement may be disputed, but we realise it is true when we reflect that the eye is *always* seeking what we call beauty. Now there is no doubt that the ideal of beauty is also what we seek in our love and erotic life.

What does the word beauty mean? It means the sum of a number of visual stimuli, each in itself trifling, but the combination of which evokes in the mind, as a result of the impressions conveyed by the eye, the feeling of pleasure, admiration, and the desire for possession. We say a thing is beautiful, if the sight of it is pleasant and satisfying; just as, in the opposite case, when the sight evokes an unpleasant sensation, we say that it is ugly. We seek beauty, then, because we desire pleasure. We seek beauty in the beloved because we wish to increase sexual pleasure by the enjoyment of beauty. The eye plays a more important part in the erotic life than any other sense organ in the body. Many of the sense stimuli already mentioned cannot do without the assistance of the eye; for example, how much more potent is the voice of a person, in both speech and song, if it is supported by an attractive appearance. This is an example of what will be discussed later, under the heading of *combined* erotic stimuli.

Again we must glance at the animal kingdom. The man in the street is acquainted with many animals, but perhaps does not realise, or has never thought, why nature has made the females different from the males. He knows that the lion has a mane, the cock a fine plumage, the deer magnificent antlers, and he knows also, perhaps, that males alone possess these features. But he does not know that *every* species of animal, without exception, shows a difference in external appearance between the male and the female – a phenomenon which the biologist calls *dimorphism.* This dimorphism is fundamental, for it originates in the sexual differentiation of the species, and is already latent in the germ cell. Even though, in the lower organisms, the difference in external appearance may be so slight as to be imperceptible to the superficial observer, in the higher forms it is unmistakable. The superior endowment of the male may consist only of some difference in size and form without any more striking adornment, but in some cases he has beautiful fur or plumage or some such adornment as antlers, which make him very much more imposing than the female. There is an exception to the rule; in the grey phalarope (*Phalaropus cinereus*) the fine plumage is found in the female, and

the male devotes himself to feminine duties – he hatches the eggs!

However, we wish to speak of the rule and not of the exceptions. The peacock, the turkey-cock, the domestic cock, all strike us with their imposing plumage. But how much more must they strike their own females, who are by nature constituted to be susceptible to just this attraction. We have a striking example of dimorphism in the farm-yard, where we see the homely hen alongside the magnificent cock. In order to show that dimorphism has a sexual basis, it is only necessary to adduce one of the many thousand examples known to biology. The male bird of Paradise has brilliant plumage and two long thin feathers, blue on their under sides, between the eyes and the ears. They are twice as long as the whole body of the bird, and when he is walking they flutter in the air like pennants. These male adornments are *lost* after coitus has taken place. We have the most conclusive proof of the sexual basis of dimorphism in the fact that if the male is deprived, early in life, of his sex glands, then, whatever the species, he fails to develop the characteristic male features, and remains like the female. We may conclude, then, that the external adornment of the male animal is a sexual phenomenon and exists for the purpose of eroticising the female. That this effect is conveyed through the eye is obvious.

Is there also dimorphism in the same sense in the human race? Obviously. In Book I, we emphasised the differences between the male and female bodies. It is true that the dimorphism in man and woman seems adapted rather to the performance of their respective functions in reproduction than to purely sexual purposes as in animals. And yet human beings too seek physical beauty in sex; the man seeks beauty in the woman, in order that he may be eroticised; the woman tries to increase her beauty because she knows that in this way she can have a greater eroticising effect on the man.

The conception of beauty varies according to the period, country, and race, to which the individual belongs. Every people, past and present, has or had its own particular conception of beauty. We saw obvious examples of this in Book I when discussing the female breast.

'I have heard it maintained that savages are quite indifferent about the beauty of their women, valuing them solely as slaves; it may therefore be well to observe that this conclusion does not at all agree with the care which the women take in ornamenting themselves, or with their vanity. Burchell gives an amusing account of a Bushwoman who had used as much grease, red ochre, and powder "as would have ruined any but a very rich husband". . . . Hearne, who lived many years with the American Indians, says in speaking of their women, "Ask a Northern Indian what is beauty, and he will answer a

broad flat face, small eyes, high cheek-bones, three or four broad black lines across each cheek, a low forehead, a large broad chin, a clumsy hook-nose, a tawny hide, and breasts hanging down to the belt" . . . It is well known that with many Hottentot women the posterior part of the body projects in a most wonderful manner; they are steatopygous, and Sir Andrew Smith is certain that this peculiarity is greatly admired by the men. He once saw a woman who was considered a beauty, and she was so immensely developed behind, that, when seated on level ground, she could not rise, and had to push herself along until she came to a slope. Some of the women in the various Negro tribes have the same peculiarity, and, according to Burton, the Somali men "are said to choose their wives by ranging them in a line, and selecting the one who projects farthest *a tergo*. Nothing can be more hateful to a negro than the opposite form." '[1]

Ploss discusses this question at length, but when he tries to refer the ideal of feminine beauty to climate, mode of life, the position of woman, and the 'relative facilities for the development of the whole organism,' I must disagree with him. The ideal of beauty does not depend on climate and external factors; on the contrary, it is a feeling handed down from generation to generation, peculiar to each race and nation, and has been determined entirely by the human mind. Some peoples tattoo their girls in childhood, and make deep incisions down and across the cheeks; they do this simply because in these things, which we think deformities, they recognise the ideal of beauty which they have been taught at their mother's knee. It is not necessary to have recourse to curious customs of savages to find proof that women will do all they possibly can to accommodate themselves to men's idea of beauty, no matter how difficult it may appear. We can find abundant evidence of that in our own civilisation.

We shall now give some examples of the diversity of the ideals of feminine beauty. According to Kirchhoff, the Ainu men regard a moustache in their women as extraordinarily attractive, so that careful mothers tattoo a little blue-black moustache on the upper lip in childhood. When the Japanese passed a law prohibiting tattooing, the women complained 'that their daughters would not now be able to get husbands.' Almost all travellers and explorers among the black races of Asia and Africa tell us that what we would regard as the most excessive corpulency is esteemed the ideal of feminine beauty by the men, and is therefore artificially produced, by a diet of milk and porridge. Emin Pasha tells of the lower Kagera: 'In the next village there is a woman who is so fat that she cannot walk without support. In the Vahuma, female adiposity seems to run in certain families and is highly

[1] Darwin, *Descent of Man*, Vol. II.

esteemed. There are some in Rumanika, and in Kabrega in 1877 I saw four who were literally like beer-barrels. Some of these had been deliberately fattened up. The poor girls, some of whom were by nature quite pretty, had nothing to eat but sweetened milk, of which they were compelled to swallow a measured quantity every day. Once a week they got salted meat-broth, and on those days even more milk. Never any water. In the year 1880 I received a communication from the Governor of Khartoum, instructing me to send on, by the next steamer, a woman of Khartoum who had remained at Makraka, six days west of Lado. But, as the woman was incapable of walking and was too heavy for four men to carry, I could not send her, and she died later.' To give another example: 'Among the Southern Nubians the barbarous custom prevailed of deliberately fattening the girls up before their marriage, since adiposity and corpulency are regarded as the chief desiderata in a beautiful woman. Forty days before the marriage the girl is put on the following régime: at daybreak the body is anointed all over with fat, and she must then eat a porridge made of about a kilogram[1] of durrah-flour cooked with water but without salt or spices. I say *must*, because the mother or some other relation, who is anxious for her marriage, stands over her with a stick or whip of hippopotamus hide, and woe betide her if she does not empty the plate! Even though she vomits the tasteless unpalatable food she is not spared, and more is prepared and must be swallowed. At lunch time she has some more durrah-porridge and perhaps some cooked meat, the broth of which forms the only sauce. In the evening again she has the same quantity of porridge as for breakfast, and at night a great gourd full of goat's milk. In addition to this, she is repeatedly anointed with fat. As a result of this régime she grows visibly in rotundity, and at the end of the forty days she is like a hippopotamus, to use a Soudanese simile. But this delights her future husband and earns for her the envy of her slimmer sisters. For to be fat is to be fashionable, and what will the daughters of Eve not suffer willingly for the sake of fashion?'[2]

There are also peoples who stunt the natural development of the body. Of this the best known example is the stunted foot of the Chinese woman, but this is quite trifling compared to the horrible (horrible, that is, to *our* feelings) deformities which many of the Indian tribes produce, by placing two boards, one on the forehead and one at the back of the head, and binding them tightly with hemp. This head-press is not removed until the fourth year of life. They press the head flat because, according to their conception, the flat head alone is beautiful. Otto Stoll gives innumerable examples of

[1] $2\frac{1}{5}$ lbs. [2] Berghoff.

similar practices, but we need not quote more here. Those interested can see, in almost any museum, pictures of the various races, showing deformities of this type.

Tattooing is the most extreme form of beautification, and it is sometimes quite artistic. Almost all primitive peoples practise tattooing on girls, either in childhood or at puberty, in order to beautify them according to the current standard. It may be confined to the face, or may cover the whole body; sometimes deep incisions are made in geometrical or artistic designs. In all cases the object is the same: to beautify, and to serve the ends of sex. Associated with tattooing are other practices, such as certain modes of dressing the hair, the use of nose and lip rings, etc.

Leaving the savage peoples, we return to civilisation. We consider ourselves much superior to these savages, but we behave in a manner essentially similar. Is not our ideal of beauty also quite unnatural? Do not our 'civilised' women also try to distort their bodies in accordance with the prevailing conception of beauty? Do not the arts dictated by the folly of 'Fashion' play the same part in our own life as do fattening, head-flattening, hair dressing, and similar practices, among the primitive peoples? We will answer these questions in some detail, because our women know only too well that their external appearance is a vital factor in their eroticising influence on the male, and they devote their whole life to making this eroticising stimulus as powerful as possible. As Mantegazza says, 'To conquer a man a very moderate degree of beauty is sufficient; a reasonably attractive form, or frequently the mere propinquity of a woman.'

Let us investigate the measures employed by women for the purpose of deliberately exerting an eroticising influence through their external appearance. As I have already insisted, every woman desires to appeal to men physically, and so women, high and low, civilised and uncivilised, old and young, devote themselves almost exclusively to this object. This ambition is supported and nourished by all the foolish and fantastic manifestations of that great god of Woman – 'Fashion.' It is fashion which requires that the woman shall be now slender and now stout, determines the way the hair shall be dressed, compels the body to assume varying shapes, and dictates that clothes shall be made according to its varying fancies. I pass over the questions of coiffure, hair dyeing, and alteration of the figure by tight corsets or padding, but should like to say a few words about the deliberate alteration of the face and those parts which, with us, are concealed by clothing. Is not the prevailing fashion of making up the face, which is almost universal among modern women, just as silly, childish, and unnatural, as the tattooing of savages? At one time

complexions must be deathly pale, at another the cheeks blaze with colour; the eyes appear to be in deep caves, the eyelashes and eyebrows emphasised; the lovely natural red of lips is changed into an artificial carmine or a hideous vermilion. Surely a woman's face is most beautiful *au naturel.* We spoke of the fresh youthful complexion of the adolescent girl, comparing it to the bloom of an apple, because in its natural state, by its natural beauty, the young girl's face has a strong attraction. The woman believes that she deceives the male sex by these arts, but she deceives herself more. She believes that Nature must be assisted, and fails to realise how much men dislike it. But she will always go on doing it, because there are men enough who readily (though only temporarily) succumb to this unnatural attraction.

The follies of fashion defy description, but so long as there are women there will be fashions, and women will follow them. Ponderous tomes have been written about these fashions in dress, from the earliest times up to our own day. The study of this subject reveals the fact that fashions have been continually adapted to the habits and desires of the people. From the girdle of the Somali negress, whose sole clothing is a fringe of flax hanging in front or behind, down to our own race, from the simple tunic of classical antiquity to the elaborate toilettes of silk and velvet of the present day, everything that woman wears has been the subject of precise rules, which she has willingly followed. These rules may originally have been simple, but they had already become extremely complicated as early as the Middle Ages, when the ladies wore elaborate costumes, although (as can be proved historically) the chemise had not yet been invented. In Antiquity, we are told, the loosening of the girdle was a symbol of sexual compliance by the woman; so, later, we find that uncovering the body by removing the clothing was taken as a sign of willingness for sexual intercourse. The explanation is obvious. Covering the body with clothes stimulates the desire of the other sex to see the body naked, and this arouses sexual feelings. Nakedness is more potent in its eroticising effect than any other method of appeal to the eye. Recognition of this fact has led to the fashion of designing the clothing so as to reveal the shape of the body, or, becoming still more subtle, actually to expose certain parts of it. How else can we explain the great erotic significance of the fashion of bare arms? It may be thought that the rather stiff fashions of the Middle Ages did not utilise this factor of exposure, and appear indeed to have deliberately avoided it; but it would nevertheless be an error to think there was no erotic motive in the stiff costume. The dress, fitting closely around the upper parts of the body, caused the breasts to be prominent, and the

widely spreading crinoline suggested an exuberant development of the buttocks. Was there not also in this almost feverish concealment of every part of the body, the subtle purpose of stimulating the imagination of the knight, and thus increasing beyond all bounds the desire to unclothe the invisible but suspected charms? The more subtle the men became, the more subtle became the fashions of women's clothing. The modest, or more strictly speaking pseudo-modest, costume of the Middle Ages, made of thick silk or of velvet, soon gave place to the loose costume of France of the Decadence, made of thin materials, scarcely concealing the body and leaving it quite exposed in parts. Italy and France were the first countries to adopt the fashion of *décolletage* – the exposure of part of the bosom – which obviously had a purely erotic purpose. One might call it a rudimentary form of exhibitionism, i.e. the desire deliberately to expose certain parts of the body which have an erotic effect. As every woman knows, the exposure of the breasts is more effective than that of any other part of the body. They have a very strong effect on the male when they are quite exposed, but even more powerful when partially concealed as in décolletage, which leaves the complete nudity to the imagination. To come to our times; is not the recently adopted fashion of the short skirt also a form of exhibitionism? By exposing her leg to the knee the woman wishes to have an erotic effect on the male. Is it not also exhibitionism which is at the root of the fact that, on those occasions which bring her into close contact with men in public, such as at dances, the woman is to be seen with bare arms and the most extreme décolletage?

It is primarily the shape and cut of clothes which is dictated by fashion and slavishly followed by women. But this is supported by another factor, that of colour. Every woman knows which is 'her colour,' the colour which shows her complexion to best advantage; and thus arises the preference for a particular colour. It is the woman's favourite colour, not necessarily because *she* likes it and it arouses pleasant æsthetic sensations in *her*, but because it is the colour which has the greatest eroticising effect on men. But women do not like only a particular colour, they like colour in general. It is almost as though women were attempting to achieve, by artificial means, the advantages of colouring which Nature has given to the male animal, and thus to exert the same attraction on the man as the male animal does on the female. It is not only the cultured woman of the cities who succumbs to this fascination of colour, but also the woman of the lower classes and the peasantry. Thus fashions, which, among some populations have remained the same for centuries, have preserved not only a distinctive cut, but also the combination of the most

brilliant colours. Thus the Czech peasants do not consider their festal attire complete unless they wear ribbons of the most crude and glaring colours. The love of colours among the peasantry is so great, that even the men, who are otherwise sober in costume and are given to hard work, also yield to the fascination of vivid colours in their national costumes.

Civilisation and refinement influence the sensibility to colours, and therefore the employment of them. The unrefined woman prefers vivid colours, and it is interesting to note that it is a characteristic peculiarity of prostitutes that they have an almost morbid passion for dressing in the most shrieking colours – all of course for the eroticising effect on men.

There is another important factor in clothing, namely, the sort of material of which it is made. Detailed studies, carried out especially by Krafft-Ebing, proved that smooth, shimmering, or hairy material has a stimulating effect on men. Thus we find that velvet, silk, and fur are popular among women. Is not a woman clothed in soft perfumed silk preferred to a more beautiful woman clad in coarse woollen material. The choice would be quite different if the man saw both women naked – if there were no other erotic stimulus than that of the naked body, the ideal of beauty alone!

The discussion of the methods employed by women for the deliberate purpose of augmenting their erotic stimulus would be incomplete without some mention of the passion, not only for beautifying the body, but also for making it appear more expensive. I refer to the love of jewellery, which is specifically feminine. The civilised woman differs little from the negress who adorns herself with strings of glass beads and shells, or the Indian women with her pieces of amber. The mode of decoration has changed somewhat in the course of the ages, but the passion for adornment is just the same. Women wear jewels in order to be more beautiful, in order to make a more striking effect, and finally to augment their natural attraction for men. This love of jewellery is so strong that they will satisfy it at all costs. Though the 'gold ring' may be Brummagem, and the 'diamond' only a piece of glass, she will wear them with pleasure, because they make her more conspicuous. But women deceive themselves if they believe that they deceive men by such means. How little intelligence they display in this. If a man has been so eroticised by the woman herself that he desires to win her, then he does not think of jewels, clothes, and externals of the sort. He longs to possess her body; it is the beauty of her body itself which attracts him. This is real, and is much more important than the artificial beauty which women strive for so zealously and in such a foolish manner. Would it not be a blessing if

women could be persuaded not only to realise this, but to act accordingly? Women should remember that their beauty lies in their bodies as Nature made them. It is useless to employ artificial devices, for these only spoil it. They should remember, too, that everybody knows quite well that they employ these devices when they have not been as well favoured by Nature as they might wish. Moreover, the final judgment of the matter is outside their province; for it is not *their* judgment which is important, but the judgment of the man for whom alone they really wish to be beautiful! . . .

The man, also, desires to attract the female by means of his external appearance, and therefore tries to increase his eroticising effect on her by all the means in his power. But what women try to do by means of beauty, baubles, and trinkets, men try to do by means of other attributes such as physical stature, strength, and power. A man cannot attract a woman by means of beautiful clothes or a handsome face, or at any rate not by means of these alone. His attraction depends primarily on his physical and mental attributes – the qualities which make him a man. Of course I am speaking of the normal man, and not of those soft, effeminate creatures who dress up like dolls and go about expecting to make an enormous impression by means of their appearance. I am speaking of the average man, no matter what his race, age, or social status; of the breadwinner, who has no time to study the fashions; who is engaged in some occupation and doing his share of the world's work. I include the brain worker, the artisan, the peasant, and also the savage who goes forth to hunt wild beasts in order to feed himself and his dependents. What woman treasures and honours in man is strength; but she is also, to some extent, affected by external appearance. The lady of the Middle Ages gave her hand to the victorious knight to kiss, as a sign of admiration for his courage and prowess in the lists, but she was attracted not only by his strength but also by his shining armour. So, too, the woman of to-day seeks in the man, not only strength, but also certain externalities. She tries to realise her ideal of beauty in him, just as the man tries to find his ideal of beauty in the woman. She wishes to obtain an erotic stimulus from the sight of a handsome lover. So here again we meet with the effect of clothing and colour. It is only necessary to refer to the well-known influence of uniform! Thus fashion determines the cut of men's clothes, the way they dress the hair, moustache, and beard; though, it is true, it does not go to such lengths as in women. In men the love for colours is almost completely lacking, so far as town dwellers are concerned. We also miss the passion for decorating and beautifying the body in order to have a more striking effect. This is only natural; as the conquering party, the man, does not need to appeal by his

appearance. He does not wait, as does the woman, until he is chosen; it is he who chooses.

It is indicative of the fact that from time immemorial the passion for self-beautification has been a peculiar privilege of woman, that we can read no work on anthropology without finding in it some discussion of feminine beauty, and of the various arts which have been employed to make it still more alluring, or to preserve it as long as possible. Referring again to the ancient Hindu erotic literature, we can cite thousands of passages dealing exclusively with *feminine* beauty. The examples already quoted, in reference to the ideal of feminine beauty, are much less striking than the prescriptions given for increasing beauty. We find prescriptions given for improving the complexion, removing hairs from the face, beautifying the vulva and the abdomen, and for avoiding an unpleasant breath or the odour of sweat. The intense interest shown in this subject by the Hindus is testified by the bulky treatises devoted to such arts.

When we turn to the sections dealing with the male, we find the advice and remedies given to him have quite a different object, – to increase his sexual potency, prolong his sexual activity, enlarge his penis – in short all matters which are directly related to the sexual act.

CHAPTER V

THE BODY IN MOTION

We have dealt, so far, with the erotic stimuli which are due entirely to external physical appearance, to natural beauty, and with the advantages in this respect which Nature has given to woman. We have also briefly mentioned the various customs of different peoples and civilisations, by which they seek to increase these natural advantages. Going a step further, we must now make the confession that the full eroticising effect of the body cannot be expressed without life and movement. A blank staring eye has a lifeless effect, no matter how beautiful it may be. However closely a wax figure imitates Nature, it lacks life and can never compare in beauty with the living body. Movement is the life of the body, and it is only the body in motion which has the full eroticising effect. We need not deal at length with facial expression, the delicate movements of the facial muscles, the sudden appearance of a dimple, the glimpse of pearly teeth between the soft curved red lips, the sweet smile, the angry frown, the modest cast-down eyes, etc. But let us consider the movements of the other parts of the body at somewhat greater length. On close analysis, there appears a sharp distinction between the bodily movements of men and women. What is usually called feminine grace is the result of a gentle harmony in all the movements of the female body. We speak of a 'graceful gait,' meaning thereby the gentle swaying of the hips and lifting of the feet; we speak of 'a graceful motion of the hand,' meaning the harmony between the extremity and the other parts of the arm. We look for grace and harmony in woman, but we should think them contemptible in a man, because in his movements we look for strength and the expression of a dominating personality. This difference between the sexes rests on the differences in their respective physique. The rounded contours of the female body are due to a less developed musculature, while the physical strength of the male is the result of vigorous muscular activity. The same difference can be observed in the animal kingdom, where the male is the stronger and more savage, while the female is characterised by a comparative softness and tameness. It is true that this may soon be replaced by the greatest strength and ferocity if her young are threatened with danger.

It is not only the movements of the female body which have an eroticising effect, but in still greater degree their harmonious quality, resulting from voluntary control. This co-ordination of the muscles can be exemplified by a mere inclination of the head, or raising of the arm to pluck a fruit from the tree. The maximum eroticising effect

is attained, however, in that form of deliberately harmonious rhythmic movement of the body which is called dancing.

The harmoniousness of the movements in the dance is partly innate and partly acquired. Women are quite conscious of this, and appreciate its effect on the male. The conception of harmony and rhythm, like the ideal of beauty, differs from individual to individual and from race to race. Grace of movement is an individual quality, but the rhythm depends on the general culture of the race to which she belongs, since it is intimately connected with music. Here we are speaking of music, not in its wider sense, but merely as a rhythmic effect, which may on occasion consist of no more than clapping the hands, stamping the feet, or beating a 'tom-tom.' A glance at the customs of various peoples shows us that the dance has always been an almost universal institution. Why it should be so is an interesting scientific question. Surely there must be one common explanation of dancing, which is equally applicable to all peoples and to all ages. If we omit the Death Dances, which have been elaborated by some peoples as a sign of grief, so that they seek to express their woe with dull heavy movements, and confine ourselves to the (much more usual) joyous sorts of dancing, we must seek for the common causative factor in some impulse which is common to all humanity. And, next to hunger and thirst, what impulse is more common than that of sex? What explanation of the dance is more illuminating than that of eroticism? It is not possible, in the space at our disposal, to give an historical account of the evolution of the dance, but I should like to refer to a typical analysis of the question by Stoll,[1] who agrees with me in recognising a fundamental erotic motive in the dance. If we regard the floundering movements of the little child, which it executes in imitation of its parents, as the rudiment of dancing, we shall be better able to appreciate the naïve movements of the dances of primitive peoples in adult life, who thus express simple emotions by means of bodily movements. The chief element in the dance of civilised peoples, regular rhythmical graceful movement, is almost quite lacking in the dance of primitive peoples; but the miming of the dancers shows us clearly the feelings which are evoked in them, even by such dancing as theirs. The dances of savage peoples incline rather to the type which we call 'round dances,' a number of couples of opposite sexes taking part. They are similar to, but to our minds more primitive and less comprehensible than, those 'round dances' which prevail among our own peasants. Every festive occasion provides the opportunity for such round dances. Whether it be the festivities in connection with a girl's arrival at puberty, or the occasion of a victory

[1] Op. cit.

over a foreign tribe, a birth, a wedding, or a similar event, we find that they are all related to a higher cult; the dance, really due to erotic motives, is interpreted as an honour to the god. It is only natural that the satisfaction of the erotic feelings evoked by the dance is also regarded as religious.

But we find religion playing a part in the dancing of our own civilisation, among the peasantry. Note, for example, the many festivities at the beginning of Spring and at the Summer solstice; in these the part of God is taken by the seasons, which are believed to be connected with the moon. Every festival has its dance, and the dancing always leads to sexual activity. Moreover we can find dances in which the movements represent a sort of pantomime (if I may call it so) of the sexual act. Thus there are dances or round games in which the lads sit on the ground with the legs apart and take the chosen girl between the legs; at the conclusion of the round each disappears into the darkness with his partner! But in these cases the movements of the dance itself are still within the bounds of decency. Among savages we get the wildest erotic movements, as for example in the well-known *belly-dances*.

The erotic element in dancing is twofold, active and passive, eroticising and erotic. The sight of a body moving harmoniously and rhythmically unquestionably has an eroticising effect, since certain parts of the body are conspicuously displayed. This is especially the case in solo dances or dances done for show before spectators. It is only necessary to refer to the example of the ballet. Note the eagerness with which the old gentlemen in the front rows of the stalls observe every movement of the ballet girls with an opera glass! Obviously they obtain an erotic stimulus from it. There is the historical example of Salome, who, by her highly erotic dance, captivated the senses of the lustful Herod, and claimed as reward the head of John the Baptist, in order to sate her own lust. Not only are men eroticised by female dancing; we may see the other side of the picture almost every day – that women are also erotically excited by the sight of a handsome male dancer.

The erotic effect of dancing is somewhat different in the case of the round dance when so arranged that it is carried out by each couple separately. The intimate contact of the two bodies, which modern chastity and morality would never permit in any other circumstances, has a marked erotic stimulus through the sense of touch; the quickened breathing and heightened pulse are unconsciously conveyed to the partner; the odour of the body and of the hair, both of which are erotically stimulating – all these factors unite to have an enormous effect. A whispered word of love, or a kiss pressed on the

hand or shoulder, may augment it still further. But the eye also plays its part; the eye of the man finds pleasure in the décolletage of his partner, and she seeks the evidence of his desire in the glance of his eye.

I have thus arrived inadvertently at an example which belongs to the classification of combined erotic stimuli. We shall not deal with the extreme types of erotic dancing, as, for example, those of savage peoples, who not only affect the other sex by dancing, but also use the dance to work themselves up into a state of ecstasy, which is undoubtedly nothing but erotic excitement. The modern girl's love of dancing has essentially the same basis. The girl thus finds a means of experiencing the sexual feelings which modesty and chastity repress so sternly at other times. This view is always denied hotly by the female sex, but the flushed cheeks and flashing eyes of the girl who loves dancing 'passionately,' speak louder than words. In dancing the woman enjoys erotic sensations herself, and in addition exercises an eroticising effect on the male. This is the explanation of the continued popularity of this practice, which logically we should expect to have passed away long ago. When I think of the modern forms of dancing now prevailing throughout the civilised world, I like to remember the astonished glance of an old lady of the past generation, whom I once saw looking on, open-mouthed and speechless, at the young people of to-day. She shook her head sadly, amazed that things, which in the good old days were only allowed in secret and under the cover of darkness, were being done here openly in a brilliantly lit ball-room!

Having now, I trust, proved the importance of the erotic motive in dancing, it is necessary to refer to other body-movements which exert an erotic stimulus, in particular those connected with sport. Just as in dancing the sudden change in the costume, for example, the ballet-skirt or the ball-dress, is quite a considerable factor, so, in the various branches of sport, the unusual costume plays a part. The woman riding astride on horseback, or in bloomers on a bicycle, exerts a certain eroticising effect by means of these costumes alone, which is, of course, enhanced if the movements of the legs display the hips and buttocks. As a counterpart to this we may refer to the effect on the woman of the boxer, wrestler, or trapezist, with his body exposed much more than is customary; and this is heightened by the conspicuous muscular movements. In such activities the eroticising stimulus is intentional and desired. Sport appears to play the same part in civilised life as festivals among savages, and shows, too, a similar seasonal variation. In winter there is dancing; but summer offers the best opportunities for the exposure of the body. Mixed bathing, in

particular, affords the best of all facilities for the exposed body to exert an erotic and eroticising effect. When a woman goes bathing she seems to cast aside all her modesty, and her only ambition is to create a sensation by her physical beauty. Woman is frequently called a Sphinx, but really she is not. At least, not if we see her bathing. The avowed object of bathing is to bring refreshment in hot weather, but to the woman this is quite a secondary purpose. She forgets it almost completely in selecting her bathing costume, which must be as fashionable as possible, display her figure to best advantage, and 'drive the men crazy.'

Should the growth of the habit of mixed bathing in modern times be regarded as a sign of decadence? Broad-minded people rejoice that conventional prejudice no longer forbids this healthy summer pastime, but the puritan turns away in horror from this 'disgusting spectacle' – if he thinks anyone is watching him! There can be no real objection to mixed bathing in itself; what is objectionable is the morbid passion of women for stimulating erotic feelings by displaying the charms which have been so carefully concealed during the winter. The tight-fitting bathing costume, which leaves much of the body exposed, the shoes, the colour of the costume, the cap – all are carefully chosen for the sometimes unconscious, but never avowed, purpose of fascinating and eroticising the male. Male bathing costume has shown no marked change for many years, but the man also has an erotic effect on the woman through the proximity of his almost naked body. Both sexes delight in the happy hours of extreme erotic excitement, which may be enjoyed with the full approval of respectable people, much more than in the refreshment of bathing in itself.

In the matters last dealt with, we have the eroticising effect of nudity combined with that of the moving body. I have already pointed out that the level of a people's civilisation is reflected in the modesty of their women, and this modesty is manifested especially in the care devoted to covering the body with clothing. The ideas of modesty inculcated into us from childhood cause us to be shy of the naked body, so that, in later years, nakedness acts as an erotic stimulus. Acquaintance with primitive peoples proves that this result is entirely due to unfamiliarity with the naked body. A modest young girl has been carefully guarded from the sight of a naked man, and, thanks to her modesty, has a horror of such a spectacle. She must be highly eroticised if she suddenly sees any unfamiliar part of the naked human body, and especially those parts which even the sculptor conceals with a fig-leaf. The curiosity which arises, especially at puberty, leads, among girls in pensions, schools, and similar institutions, to a positive passion for eroticising themselves in this way,

and they resort to extraordinary measures for this purpose. Even the sight of paintings and sculptures will be sufficient to arouse erotic sensations. How otherwise are we to interpret the giggling, secret whispering, and nudging, of young flappers, in front of pictures of the nude male figure in the art galleries? They carefully inspect the sculptured marble figures and, with flushed cheeks and flashing eyes, try to get a stolen peep behind the fig-leaf to see what it conceals. They seek to escape momentarily from the constant repression of their sexual feelings. The less familiar a woman is with the nude male body, the greater is her curiosity and the more powerful is the erotic stimulus which sight of it exerts upon her. It is very different with those women who have been less prudishly brought up, and who have been allowed to become familiar with the appearance of the male body. The unclothed body should cease to suggest only nakedness, and to have an eroticising effect. If this were so, then the eroticism of women would be canalised in other channels more directly related to the needs of sex. The human body, Nature's masterpiece, would then arouse æsthetic, instead of merely crude erotic, sensations.

CHAPTER VI

PORNOGRAPHY

We have dealt with the part played, more or less unconsciously, by the several sense organs in the erotic life, and must now turn to the consideration of the *deliberate* employment of the senses for the purpose of stimulating erotic feelings. This brings us to the subject of deliberate eroticism – a widely prevailing cult which is generally, but falsely, called 'pornography.' We have pornographic pictures, books, speech, and behaviour. All these serve to stimulate erotic feelings, and are indeed themselves the expression of excessive eroticism.

I maintain that every human being is a devotee of this cult, and I refuse to make an exception of the female sex. I know that this will provoke a storm of feminine indignation because I dare to tell the truth; but I must do so. The young flapper seeks to stimulate her erotic feelings by looking for the nude in the art galleries; the adult woman seeks the living naked body for the same purpose. Sexual experience makes the whole circle of thought in the mature woman very different from that of the shy, inexperienced, giggling flapper. Whereas the sight of a mere painting of a handsome male figure is sufficient to excite the latter, the experienced woman will only begin to be thrilled if the representation directly suggests sexual activity. This is of course the more powerful, if the actual act of sexual intercourse is portrayed. Obscene pictures are much more popular than is usually realised, and women take just as much pleasure in them as do men. Usually, the woman will only enjoy such things when she is alone or with a congenial female friend, because women are unwilling to shed their modesty even before their own husbands. As a matter of fact, men would only be too glad to witness the change of countenance, the flushing cheeks and flashing eyes of the woman when she is enjoying such things, because he, in his turn, would be excited erotically by it.

Pornographic art is an extreme case of deliberate eroticism, and I shall now, if only in order to pacify my female readers, mention a comparatively harmless form of conscious stimulation of one's own erotic feelings – reading. Where is the woman who does not regard it as an indispensable adjunct to a *grande passion*, to have a love-letter or love-poem from the hand of the lover. No matter how innocent and restrained – a form, it is true, but rarely found – the love-letter always stimulates the erotic feelings of the woman, and she will deliberately excite herself by reading it again and again, by bringing before herself in phantasy the picture of a kiss, embrace, or sexual act,

with the writer of the letter. The result is enhanced if the letter or poem contains either overt or covert eroticising suggestions. Here we have an erotic stimulation contemplated by the man, but augmented by the woman herself.

Another example is found in the reading of novels. The flapper is excited by reading some love story, in which the lovers are for ever finding new obstacles to their union. Here we first meet with what can accurately be designated as indecent or pornographic. The field of erotic literature is a wide one. There are firstly the well-known folk-songs with their *double entendres*, then jokes with an erotic background, and finally those books which simply teem with obscenity and vulgarity. Where is the flapper who has not secretly read at least one of the novels of Zola? Or the woman who has not read some chapter or other of the Decameron? Where is the woman of the lower classes who does not give up much of her free time to the reading of appalling 'love-stories'? Why are women the greatest purchasers of 'realistic' novels? Why is it that women spend all their time reading sensational novels, while their menfolk devote their studies to the more serious sorts of literature? Weininger insists in *Sex and Character* that there is something of the procuress in every woman, which finds a certain satisfaction in the union of lovers even in a novel or on the stage. The popularity of Schnitzler's much discussed *Reigen* among the fair sex affords an excellent example of this passion of women for eroticising themselves. Women are much more given to this stimulation of eroticism by reading than are men. It is a mistake to think that this is peculiar to highly civilised races. There is no people in the world without their pornographic literature. The Ancient Greeks and Romans had whole volumes devoted entirely to eroticism, and the stories from Indian, Chinese, and Japanese erotic literature, from the earliest centuries down to our own time, are world-famous. Some of these are collections of the most obscene and vulgar stories, richly illustrated.

Closely related to the subject of erotic literature is the stimulation of the erotic feelings through the sense of hearing. Of course, writing is intimately related to hearing, since reading aloud involves both senses. Women are more susceptible to the stimulus aroused by hearing than are men. Proof of this is afforded by the power of the 'love-whisper' on women, which may, in an instant, sweep away the reserve of the most chaste woman. It sometimes seems as though women were quite impotent before the power of suggestion contained in such whispered words of love. But although this subject comes logically into the category of deliberate eroticism – since women desire and deliberately seek excitement of this sort – it is not about this that I

wish to speak here, but rather of the 'suggestive riddles.' Among all peoples and in almost every language, there are conundrums which, on account of the form or sound of the words, give an impression that a 'smutty joke' is involved, though the real answer is quite innocent and harmless. They usually contain an expression which is a euphemism for something which is connected, or which may be interpreted as being connected, with the sexual organs or the sexual act. It is only a short step from these to the *double entendre* – especially popular with men – and from these again to the 'ambiguous' joke which really has only one meaning and that an indecent one. This is the 'good story' which women enjoy so much, although they listen with downcast eyes. They may pretend not to understand; they may be 'really annoyed'; but their mischievous glance says more eloquently: 'Please go on.'

Conduct of this sort on the part of women is stigmatised as indecent, but it has really nothing to do with indecency. If this were so, one would also have to describe as indecent the preference of women for love-dramas, none of which dispense with the erotic motif. True indecency, however, only manifests itself in action, and women usually know how to conceal any such manifestation. Here we must point out another interesting fact; that in recent years there has been a great change in the dramatic taste of women. Instead of preferring the old 'romantic' type of play just mentioned, they have recently turned to a new type, regarded as essentially modern, so that all dramatists have directed their efforts towards the supply of plays of this type. Is it not noteworthy that in recent years young women have come to find more pleasure in the plays of Ibsen, Strindberg, and Maeterlinck, than in the plays of our own[1] classical dramatists? What is the explanation of this change of taste? It is not due entirely to the dramatists themselves, but rather to a change in educational methods, so that young girls are enlightened at an earlier age than formerly. Thus their desire to understand woman has increased – not the ideal woman presented in the classical plays, but woman with all her faults and weaknesses; and it is obvious that the weaknesses of woman cannot be shown in a play without a sexual background. Going further, we may assert that every play which has a sexual background will also have an eroticising effect on the audience.

The stage gives us an example of erotic excitement derived from the stimulus of a third person, but we can also find all the senses so far enumerated, employed by the individual himself auto-erotically, i.e. without the aid of an external stimulus. Hearing and touch are relatively unimportant here, but vision and the sense of smell are

[1] i.e. German.

extremely potent. The locks of hair which lovers exchange, the handkerchief of the beloved – especially dear to men – are preserved like religious relics and can exert an erotic influence, even after many years, by means of the combined effect of vision and smell. But it is not the object itself which may still provide a stimulus; rather it is the memories of the situations which it evokes by association. With the help of this stimulus, the person is able to recall the scenes with photographic exactitude, and thus to recapture the erotic effect. Practices of this sort may be regarded as perfectly normal, but may easily pass over into the pathological, when this custom of using objects belonging to the beloved to stimulate eroticism by phantasy, is extended so that those belonging to any person at all are so employed. This aberration, which is called *fetichism*, may go to extraordinary lengths, but it is not my business to deal with abnormal cases in this book. But if we can say that there is such a thing as *normal* fetichism, then practically every human being is a fetichist, for there are few people who do not evince this tendency to some extent, just as there is no human being who is not, to some extent, auto-erotic.

It is wrong to use the word 'erotic' with a derogatory connotation, to apply to people who show a marked tendency to unrestrained eroticism. Every human being is 'erotic,' in the sense that he or she tends to use all external stimuli for erotic ends. The proper term for unrestrained people, and the only one scientifically valid, is *hyper-erotic*. We should employ the term hyper-erotic to describe those persons who look for an erotic stimulus in everything, who devote all their energies to eroticism. It is quite unjust to allege that hyper-eroticism is more common in men than in women. A knowledge of life will soon show us that there are many such persons among the female sex, although they know how to simulate innocence, and indeed pretend to a lack of interest in sexual matters, bordering on asexuality.

I have already said that woman is essentially nothing but sex; I shall modify that here, and put it that, in her sexuality, woman is the devoted slave of eroticism. One example will suffice. Picture a woman preparing for a ball, and note the elaborate preparations for a few hours of entertainment. When closely analysed, they will be found to have one aim and one aim only; to have the maximum possible eroticising and erotic effect. She adorns herself from head to foot. The hair must first be dressed in an unusually elaborate manner, so as to show it off to best advantage; all conceivable cosmetics must be employed to correct any imperfections in the complexion, and to make it pale or red as the fashion of the moment decrees. The

dress is chosen carefully, agrees with the prevailing mode both in colour and cut, and is cut as low as possible so that breasts, arms, and back are wholly or partly exposed. Sheer exhibitionism, as we have already insisted. Silk stockings and a small, light, but often excruciatingly tight, slipper must display the legs to their best advantage during the dancing. The woman wants to look more beautiful than Venus herself and more radiant than the jewels she wears. All for the purpose of making an impression on the male. Subtly chosen perfumes combined with her own body-odour are calculated to 'drive the men crazy.' The woman increases the erotic effect on the male by these means, but the dancing and the general conditions prevailing at such entertainments also stimulate her own eroticism. The heavy, perfume-laden atmosphere, the glittering lights, the music, the intimate physical contact with the partner, the love whispers – all tend to heighten eroticism. This is why women prepare themselves so carefully for the ball, and why dancing is so popular.

We may make the same generalisation about many forms of sport, to which we have already referred briefly. I will leave it to the reader to form his own judgment on the various branches of sport, on the basis of what I have just said about dancing and previously about swimming. No matter how sceptically he has received my observations, and although he may overtly deny my conclusions, in his own mind he will be obliged to admit that they are true.

CHAPTER VII

EROTICISM AMONG UNCULTIVATED PEOPLES

So far our discussion of the erotic life has dealt with the nature of the stimuli which produce, or increase, erotic excitement; and we have dealt purposely with the normal woman among civilised peoples. I should be guilty of a serious omission if I did not mention other types of women. We shall see quite a different picture, although the final result is much the same. Every human being is erotic, but the particular methods he uses to stimulate eroticism depend on his degree of intelligence and general culture. In a word, it is the *milieu* which determines the particular form taken by the erotic life of an individual. Thus the lack of restraint in the life of the lower-class or peasant woman, make the forms of erotic expression much cruder than those which appeal to more refined people. In her use of sensory impressions for erotic purposes, the common woman tends to the blatant, and is herself only eroticised by very crude and powerful stimuli. This is especially true of touch and hearing. Only the coarsest language will affect her, or the most crude manifestations of the sense of touch. Can we account for this by assuming that women of this type are less sensitive to such sense impressions than their sisters? Or is it not rather to be ascribed simply to the influence of her environment? The whole range of thought of a working woman is entirely different from that of the woman of position, surrounded by wealth and luxury. The very word *culture* connotes, *inter alia*, the higher refinement of the senses. The hard, rough hand of the working woman has lost its sensitiveness, and so has the hand of her husband. She cannot be moved by a light touch, but needs a stronger stimulation. In the dances of the refined classes, the mere contact of the bodies is sufficient to stimulate the erotic feelings, but among the lower classes the contact must be more definite. The language of many of the lower classes is normally so coarse that, if the spoken word is to have any erotic effect, it must be absolutely indecent. The lack of æsthetic appreciation may result in the ideal of beauty assuming the most incredible forms. It is not harmony and delicate shades of colour which appeal, but the vivid and glaring. Likewise, the sense of smell has been so abused that it may be said to have no erotic significance at all.

In modern times an attempt is being made to improve the lives of the working classes in various ways. It is also desirable that the sensory lives of these classes should be raised to a higher level, where it will be more adequate to the needs of life. Working women should know as well as other women how their sense-organs are constituted,

and should understand the purpose of many things of which up to now they have been ignorant. It is desirable that this improvement in the *milieu* should go hand-in-hand with improved education and *vice versa*. At the same time, women should be taught to understand the vital importance for happiness in marriage of bringing all the senses into the service of eroticism.

We may go a step further, and consider the peasant woman. Here we find eroticism at a much lower, but, it may be, more natural, level. Living on the land brings even young children into contact with spectacles which, to the town dweller, would be amazing. In particular, the sexual act is seen almost every day, so that a spectacle, which would have an extreme erotic effect on the town child, is soon accepted quite naturally. The young peasant girl sees copulation in the farm-yard, she sees the amorous cock tread the hen, and already in early childhood knows the purpose of this 'game.' Out in the fields she watches over cows in heat and looks on quite calmly when the bull covers them. She sees many a mare covered, and even sees her father and the farm-hands giving assistance to the stallion. She may see the same act carried out by human beings. As a result of the absolute freedom of country life, many things, which would have an erotic effect on the town-dweller, are accepted as a matter of course, and their erotic influence is practically *nil*. Another important factor is the earlier awakening, and much earlier satisfaction, of the sexual impulse. The final result is that all the senses are considerably blunted to erotic stimuli, and only the crudest appeal has any eroticising effect at all. The peasant girl sees nothing novel in the naked male form, because, as a child, she has bathed with the opposite sex and seen them urinate and defæcate quite openly and unconstrainedly. Not seldom she has slept in the same room with boys, and has yielded to the first stirrings of sex quite casually.

We regard all this as betokening a lack of culture, of restraint, or even of morality; but it appears positively refined when compared with the real excesses of eroticism which can still to-day be found among primitive peoples.

If it is permissible to use the term 'erotic tension,' to describe the relation between eroticism and the deliberate increase of voluptuous pleasure, then we may describe these peoples as suffering from hypertension. For all the descriptions go to show that, among them, eroticism does not take the form of a series of stimuli due to the several sense organs in the manner already described, but is concentrated entirely on the sexual act itself. All the sense organs, which, in civilised peoples, contribute erotic stimuli and are directed more or less to the surrounding circumstances and to the whole of the body, seem,

in the savages, to be short-circuited, or at least so considerably weakened that only the crudest means serve to stimulate them. The sense of touch plays a certain part, but is localised entirely on to the genital organs. One is therefore justified in maintaining that refinement of sensation is lacking in these people, so that they only react to the crudest stimuli. The examples already quoted from Indian erotic literature will afford sufficient evidence of this. In Book I, I quoted an extract, in which women were ranked according to their physical charms; there are also classifications based on 'temperament' as shown in sexual conduct. Thus we find the 'phlegmatic' woman contrasted with the 'choleric' – the former indifferent to erotic stimuli, the latter 'very violent during coitus.'

But even more eloquent proof of the importance attached to the enjoyment of the sexual act itself, is afforded by the number of notes on the technique of coitus, on embracing and kissing, and especially on the conduct of the woman during coitus. Here we find directions for increasing tumescence and the intensity of voluptuous sensation, and at the same time for giving the man the maximum pleasure. The *Anangaranga* of Kalyanamalla ('Stage of the Love God') says: 'If the woman does not have the orgasm before the man, then there is no enjoyment. Therefore those learned in the ways of love should take care that the woman has the orgasm first. But it is difficult to recognise the different varieties, especially as they may be blended; and since the subject is delicate it remains as unapproachable as the moon. Wherefore, for the use and profit of humanity, and to increase the pleasures of marriage, we give below a list of herbs which will assist in the attainment of the orgasm. If the woman assumes a crouching position and puts *Ghosa* powder mixed with honey into the vagina, she will have orgasm before the man. Seeds of the *Shamkara*, which have been cleaned and then rubbed in *Jiti*-sap, will, if placed in the vagina, bring on the orgasm during coitus. *Cinca* fruit mixed with bees' honey will also cause the woman, in whose vagina it is placed, to have the orgasm first. If a man anoints his penis with camphor, borax and *Samblu* seeds in equal proportions, together with honey, this will bring on the orgasm in the woman. The man who rubs the penis with *Samen marica* (pepper shrub) and *Manaka*, together with *Pippalia* and *Lodhara* mixed with pure honey, will succeed in bringing a very cold woman into the right frame of mind for love.'[1]

Is it necessary, after this example, to give further quotations illustrating that, at that time, every possible means was used to stimulate

[1] A. Schmidt, *Contributions to the Study of Indian Eroticism.*

desire. In addition, there were imitations and substitutes for the male organ.

I have already mentioned that such imitations of the male organ have been popular as a means of masturbation, not only among primitive peoples, but also among Europeans in the Middle Ages, and in France, Italy, and Germany. I also referred to the quite incomprehensible partiality of savage women for increasing the size of the penis, in order to increase pleasure during coitus. Mantegazza heads one of the chapters of his *Gli Amori degli Uomini*, 'Aids to coitus,' and begins it with the following words: 'Not content with the normal pleasure of coitus, man has at all times tried to increase the pleasure by the employment of various devices.' In the course of his very interesting account of the methods employed for this purpose, we find prominent mention of the *Ampalang*, which is extremely popular. This instrument of love is desired by the woman, and it is she who has forced the men to adopt it. Its purpose is to alter the shape of the penis, so that the nervous titillation of the female organs will be enormously increased. Before going on to quote Mantegazza's account of this practice, I should like to point out that this 'achievement of civilisation' – for as such these people regard it – is a standing proof of my contention that the eroticism of the uncivilised woman flows in quite different channels from those taken by the eroticism of the civilised woman. With the former, it is concentrated entirely on the sexual act itself. . . . 'Van Grafin of Batavia, the first European to make long journeys into the interior of Borneo, gave the Russian travellers many details of the strange customs of the Dyaks. The operation is performed only on adults; the foreskin is drawn back, the penis clamped between two bamboo sticks, and for eight or ten days it is covered with wet cloths. The glans is then bored through with a sharp splinter of bamboo, and a dove's feather dipped in oil is inserted into the wound. This is renewed every day until the wound has healed and the scar formed. During the whole time, cold compresses are applied continuously. When the Dyaks are on the march or working, they carry a feather in the artificial canal. When they wish to make love, they take out the feather and insert the Ampalang. This is a little rod of copper, silver, or gold, about 4 centimetres[1] long and 2 millimetres[2] thick. On one end of the rod is a little ball or pear-shaped swelling, made either of agate or of metal, and a similar ball is placed on the other end after the Ampalang has been fixed in position. The length throughout, when adjusted, is 5 centimetres,[3] and the diameter 5 millimetres.[4]

'The women have various conventional methods of indicating the

[1] $1\frac{3}{5}$ inch. [2] $\frac{1}{12}$ inch. [3] 2 inch. [4] $\frac{1}{5}$ inch.

length of Ampalang they desire. They conceal a cigarette wrapped in betel-leaf in a plate of rice which is offered to the husband, or indicate the size by placing the required length of the fingers of the right hand between the teeth. The Dyak women have the right to *demand* the Ampalang, and if the husband does not accede they may leave him. They say that coitus without this device is like rice; but that with it, it is like rice with salt. Van Grafin saw a Dyak who had two Ampalangs, one behind the other. Riedel assured Maklucho that the Ampalang was also used in the Northern Celebes, where it was called *Kamboing* or *Kambi*, and each of the external knobs had a little string, possibly to regulate the direction. He also reports that in those parts they tie the eyelashes of the goat round the glans, so that the bristles project. . . . Also in Java they often tie pieces of goat-skin, several centimetres thick, around the glans. Sometimes the whole member is hidden in a sort of hairy sheath, out of which the glans peep forth.' In the same chapter, Mantegazza cites a quotation from the *Travels of Nicolo di Conti* – 'On the river and town of Ara and of a pleasant custom which prevails in those parts': 'There one finds a jolly custom, the account of which will amuse you. There are some old women who earn their daily bread by selling little bells of silver and copper about the size of small nut-shells, and very skilfully made. When a man has arrived at the age for intercourse and wishes to marry, the little bell is fastened to the penis between the glans and the foreskin, for without this no woman would have him. According to the station of the man, the bells are either gold or silver, and the women who sell them fasten them on by loosening the skin, hanging the bells inside, and then sewing it up. The wounds heal in a few days. Some hang a dozen or more, and the sewing is done so well that they soon heal. Men adorned in this way are greatly esteemed by the women, and as they pass through the streets they are much honoured if the sound of the bells can be heard.' . . . In a manuscript of Pigafetta, preserved in the Ambrosian library at Milan, one reads on page 94, 'All, adults and boys, have their penis bored through near the glans, and a little golden or leaden cylinder is passed through the aperture, which is about as thick as a goose-quill. It has two heads, which are star-shaped with points, or else disc-shaped like the head of a nail. The cylinder does not block the urethra. The thing seemed so strange to me that I could not believe it, and wished to be convinced. They told me their women wanted it. In spite of this adornment the women love us better than they do the men of their own race.'

Many, on reading these accounts, will shake their heads incredulously, and will be inclined to judge these savages more harshly than they deserve. But Mantegazza does not seem to share this opinion,

since at the end of his account he writes: 'I know that to-day, even in Europe, *Ampalangs* are used, which are less painful, but quite as vicious, as those of the Dyaks, and that in Paris fluffy strips of goose feathers are bound round the penis, and rubber rings fitted with stars are sold.'

Leaving this scarcely edifying topic, we next ask what other means primitive peoples employ, for stimulating the erotic feelings. This brings us to the consideration of the position of the woman during coitus. Among these peoples, the wife is only her husband's servant; she is obliged to do all the household work, and regards it as an honour to be used sexually by him. As the result of polygyny, she only very rarely enjoys the pleasures of intercourse. It is therefore only natural that she should direct so much of her energy to making coitus as pleasurable as possible when it does occur. A comparison suggests itself with the Mohammedan peoples, whose women while away the tedium of the long hours of idleness in the prison of the harem, with sexual phantasies which serve to stimulate them erotically. Many African explorers have reported that the young girls are instructed in the 'art of copulation' by the old women of the tribe, and that a pupil is not regarded as proficient till the course has lasted some thirty or forty days. Ploss reports that this is also the custom in the Dutch East Indies, and that a woman regards it as a most grievous insult if one suggests that she is not expert in this direction.

What of eroticism in classical antiquity? The lives of these peoples, originally in a very primitive condition, centred round certain religious cults, and the several gods were ranked according to the symbol which was associated with them. It is not surprising that the gods and goddesses of Fertility, whether of the Earth or of human beings, enjoyed the highest rank. We find the same gods and the same cults in Greece, Rome, and Egypt, except that they are called by different names: Isis and Osiris, or Demeter and Dionysos. Finally, the god Priapus attained the highest rank as the god of fecundity; and when he was given his symbol, what could be more suitable than the life-giving, fecundating male organ – the *Phallus*? The cult of the Phallus spread from one people to another, and even Christianity could not completely suppress the aberrations of this cult, which were manifested in shocking orgies. The only too obvious erotic motive, which underlay this religious worship, made it so popular that it spread throughout the whole world, and the museums give evidence of its influence in almost every country at different periods. The Phallus, originally a symbol of the godhead, degenerated into an auxiliary of the most shameless eroticism, and we find it represented in paintings and sculptures in the most obscene manner.

Under these circumstances, it was only natural that the position of women in Ancient Greece and Rome was degraded. Eroticism dominated life and found expression in every possible form of sexual aberration.

Having now briefly surveyed the woman of other countries and periods, let us return to our own civilisation and ask whether we are justified in reproaching woman for her erotic feelings, and whether we can provide a scientific explanation of what is so frequently called the 'modern decline in morals'?

There is no doubt that there has been a great change in the character of woman during recent times. She is no longer innocent and ignorant, hypocritical and deceitful, as she was less than a century ago. In the 'good old days' woman was placed on a pedestal, surrounded with a halo, covered with a veil of mystery which none dared to tear aside. But was this not only because nobody had the courage to tell the truth; to tell the truth either to society, to the Law, to the Church, or to woman herself? The Church especially gave its blessing to this policy of concealment, and regarded it as its own special privilege to penetrate into the secrets of eroticism in the confessional. Any lay person who had dared to touch this thorny question or to write upon it a few decades ago would have been anathematised.

Modern woman is not worse than she was, but she is certainly much more sensible! For to-day she has laid aside her prudery, at least sufficiently to be ready to learn about herself from competent authorities; to read and to attend lectures. I wish to emphasise the fact that this growth of scientific knowledge of sex has done much to make women finer. It is entirely to the influence of these teachings, and to the interest they have awakened in her own vital functions, that we must attribute the greater freedom of modern woman, both in thought and in conduct.

The feminist movement usually takes the credit, quite unjustly, of having emancipated, enlightened, and improved the women of all countries, and placed them in the position they hold to-day.

Whatever we think of the feminist movement, we must admit, on careful analysis, that, in the driving power behind it, the erotic motive is an important factor.

Are not all the claims for equality an unconscious protest against the subordinate, passive rôle which the woman plays in sexual life? Do we not hear continually from the feminists that woman must no longer be regarded as an object of pleasure for men, and that a proper social position must be accorded to the unmarried mother? Do not these demands conceal the wish that women may indulge their sex impulses, and satisfy their erotic feelings, as casually as men? If we

look at the claim for equality of opportunity in choice of vocation, is it not significant that the majority of women flock to those employments which bring them into intimate contact with the opposite sex or allow of greater sexual freedom? Freedom for women means freedom to love. But we cannot go against Nature! Woman is intended for reproduction; she has been appointed to take an active part in the reproduction of the race, by pregnancy and child-birth. And while these laws of Nature remain, every attempt at emancipation must be futile.

During the war, those who looked at the unhappy events of that time with the critical eye of the scientist, had an excellent opportunity to appreciate how the activities of women conceal erotic impulses. Of the thousands of women who suddenly displayed such benevolence and kindness of heart and offered themselves as nurses, not all fulfilled what was expected of them. Many of them pursued a secret erotic aim under this cloak of Christian charity. I had many opportunities of observing how these women stood before the mirrors arranging their white caps coquettishly, and regarding themselves with satisfaction in their uniforms, before they went to their work in the wards. I was a witness of many unpleasant scenes, when the poor unfortunate wounded could scarcely ward off the importunities of these 'kind-hearted' sisters. I must therefore have the courage to tell the truth about their behaviour. It was not only inherently immoral women who acted in this way, but, even more, women and girls of the better classes, who found, in the daily contact with the male sex, an opportunity to free themselves from the restraints of everyday life. It gave them a nervous titillation which certainly did not lack erotic components.

My last remarks have no doubt given some offence, but I am determined to tell the unvarnished truth in this book.

As men have changed and clarified their views about Woman, she is no longer the woman she was in former times. At any rate, she should not be so. She should understand the basis of her secret aspiration for power and beauty. She must realise that her whole life is dominated by sex and eroticism, and that it is this which urges her towards that conquest of the male sex, which forms the chief subject of her day-dreams. Whether she joins the feminist movement or not, the desire for power over the male slumbers within her and is stronger than all laws. If she is content with this power, she will realise that she is not the slave, but the master.

BOOK V

WOMAN AND MARRIAGE

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF MARRIAGE

So far we have dealt with woman as an individual, although, of course, from time to time it has been necessary to make some reference to her position in the life of various peoples, and particularly to her position in relation to man. It is however impossible to consider woman as an isolated individual, since she is merely one half of a couple, without which the continuation of the race would be impossible. Since the whole human race is derived ultimately from two original human beings, it can never become extinct so long as there remains a man and a woman, and in the meantime its continued existence and further development rests on the human couple. *Now, in this couple, Nature has assigned the more important part to woman.* It is she who carries within her body the fertilised ovum and embryo until it is ready for birth, and it is she who in child-birth gives a new life to the race. Her share is very much more imposing than that of the male, whose fertilising semen requires only the fraction of a second to fulfil its function. And of course her activities would be still more remarkable if she continued to reproduce throughout the whole of the time that she is capable of reproduction. Nature, desiring to protect the human race from the retrogression and premature senility which would result from the continuous exercise of these functions, has set limits to the period of sexual capacity. This period lasts, as a rule, about three decades. But the period which precedes, and that which follows it, are by no means devoid of activity. The innate consciousness of her real purpose in life ceaselessly guides the activities of the woman in the direction of this vocation. The most obvious result of her period of sexual activity can be measured by the number of her offspring, but there are other invisible fruits of this activity, whch are immeasurable and are reflected in the whole of her mental, physical, and emotional life. *In her active life, in her sexual life, in her erotic life, woman never stands by herself. All the countless threads of her activities are woven round the male sex.*

The truth of this is already apparent, but it is now necessary to discuss the relation of the woman to the other sex, in the forms which are prescribed for this relation by Nature, Religion, Law, and Morality. We must also attempt the difficult task of analysing the differences between the emotional reactions of women and those of men.

In his admirable *Physics of Love*, Remy de Gourmont writes: 'What is the purpose of life – the maintenance of life. . . . The Mayfly (*ephemera vulgata*) only lives for one day. It is born in the evening

and immediately carries out the sexual act; the female lays the eggs during the night; and next morning the couple are dead without ever having seen the sunshine. These tiny organisms are so evidently created only for love that they do not even possess any digestive apparatus. They neither eat nor drink. They hover over the reeds in white swarms. The males, who are in a majority, fulfil their love duties and then sink down exhausted.' . . .

From the lower organisms up, from the unicellular organisms which multiply simply by dividing to form new cells, this fundamental purpose of life may be traced through all the stages of biological evolution. The reproductive instinct is as fundamental as that of self-preservation. The truth of this statement has been established by numerous biological experiments dealing with the principles of reproduction.

An unprejudiced study of human life shows us that it applies equally to humanity. The renewal of life is the purpose of human life also, and, so far as the female is concerned, it is only necessary to refer to the earlier chapters of this book. We realise that the consciousness of this purpose is latent in the female, if we recall how frequently we hear little girls say quite naïvely, without understanding the real significance of the words, that when they grow up, they want to marry and have children. There are two expressions here which concern us at the present stage: *Marry* and *have children.* Each of them reflects something which is already latent in the germ cell of the female – what I have called the 'essential *Woman* in woman.'

By the word *marry* the child does not mean anything but the action which marks the commencement of a *common life* between man and wife, as she sees it in her own parents. The same common life may of course be found in concubinage or free love.

For many centuries there has been a controversy respecting the earliest forms of sexual relationships. Can we find evidence from the very beginning of human history of a relationship similar to marriage? Although in very early myths and legends we find indications that there was such a relationship, I believe that we must conclude that, in the earliest period, there was no such idea as marriage, or even anything faintly resembling it. Human beings were organised in hordes or tribes living in common, now in one place and now in another, subsisting on the meagre products of the soil or of the chase. It was the duty of the men to protect the tribe from enemies and wild beasts, to capture prey, to keep order; and, even at that early time, it was the duty of the women to look after hearth and home, so far as such words are applicable to the conditions of life which then prevailed. But their first duty was to fulfil the purpose of Nature by

bearing and rearing children, so that the tribe should not die out. It is only natural that, in this period of savage antiquity, the idea of community of goods was extended to the sphere of sex. Complete promiscuity prevailed within the limits of each tribal group. From their point of view this was quite natural, and it is difficult to understand why unprejudiced scientists should be so anxious to deny the existence of this promiscuity.

It is not within the scope of this book to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of this controversy, nor to give in full my reasons for holding that the greatest opponent of the promiscuity theory, Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*), has not proved his case. His views have been contested adequately by other ethnologists. I agree completely with Ivan Bloch[1] when he writes as follows: 'Whoever understands the nature of the sexual impulse, has grasped the process of human social evolution, and has studied the sexual relations prevailing to-day among civilised and uncivilised peoples, can have no doubt at all that in the earlier periods of human development sexual promiscuity did actually prevail.' We must remember that the sexual impulse is as natural as hunger and thirst, and would be satisfied by primitive peoples quite naturally, as it is among animals.

The immediate question for us is: What, under such conditions, was the position of the woman, and of the children resulting from such promiscuous unions?

Anthropology affords abundant evidence that out of this stage of unrestrained promiscuity, there developed gradually a system of groups *within* the horde; and from this to 'group marriage' was only a step. This form of sexual union did not consist of the union of single couples, but of whole *groups* of males and females of one community with those of another. At this stage we note the emergence of a new phenomenon, which can still be seen to-day among some of the aborigines of Australia, Africa, and America. This is the conception of the blood relationship of the members of a group with a distinctive *totem*, i.e. the symbolical representation of an animal or plant. A sexual union within such a totem group was regarded as incest, and was prohibited. But cultural development had not gone so far as to restrict plurality of sexual unions with members of another totem-group. Therefore, when a man married a woman of a different totem-group, he acquired the right to sexual intercourse with *all* the women of that totem-group, just as a woman marrying into a totem-group became the sexual property of all the men of that group. Here again, then, we have the so much contested promiscuous marriage, in which the

[1] *Sexual Life of Our Time.* English Translation by E. and C. Paul (Rebman).

paternity of any given child must always have been doubtful. This state of polygyny and polyandry can still be found, according to many African explorers, in some primitive peoples.

Even in this, the genius of civilisation found the possibility of a legal form. Since paternity could not be proved unambiguously under such conditions, the children were committed to the power of the mother, and there gradually developed that legal institution which we call the *matriarchate* or *mother right*. Not the father, but the mother, and, failing her, her brother as the nearest male relative, had the power of life and death over the children. Ploss mentions this, and Dr. Otto Schütt writes: 'Among the Congo negroes the husband is changed so frequently that it is difficult to decide who is the father of a particular child. Moreover the negroes do not regard intercourse between their women and other men as disgraceful, and connive at it if it is lucrative. For this reason children inherit name and rank not from the father but from the maternal uncle.'

Many anthropologists believe that a system of absolute rule by women developed out of the matriarchate, so that they had complete control over the men. While this cannot be established indisputably, there is no doubt about the matriarchate itself, since it has persisted in various forms up to our own times. Moreover it is only natural that the relation of the child with its indubitable mother should have been much more decisive than its relation with a putative father.

It is not clear how and when the relative positions of the man and woman were changed. The fact is that we find the matriarchate giving place to the most extreme patriarchate, in which the father had power and authority not only over the children but also over the woman herself. It is not until we come to the patriarchate, that we have the rudiment of a sexual relationship analogous to marriage. Although not far removed from polygyny and polyandry, and scarcely moral as measured by present-day standards, the fact remains that we have here the rudiment of the family – a group confined to a few individuals. The father extended his power still further; he refused to be dictated to by the totem group in the choice of a mate, and with her he forms a new group – the family. He assumed the right to take by force the woman of his choice, and thus we have the earliest form of marriage in the 'rape marriage,' or marriage by abduction.

This is still a long way from modern civilised marriage, but we must briefly run over the intermediate stages, in order to establish the thesis, which I shall state in advance, that the monogamous marriage imposed upon men by the Church and modern society, violates ancient human rights and human reason.

The well-known legend of the Rape of the Sabines affords an

example of marriage by abduction; we also find evidence of it in some existing races, and in anthropology. From many accounts I select the following, because of its unusual interest.

'The tribes in which prevails, or has prevailed, the practice of getting wives by theft and force, are numerous and widely distributed. We shall find them in America, in Australia, in New Zealand, in many islands of the Pacific, and in various parts of Asia and Europe.

'It is among the tribes of the American Indians that the practice is to be found in its greatest perfection. In particular, we find it fully displayed on the Orinoco, on the Amazon, and everywhere, in fact, from the Caribbean Sea to Cape Horn. The abject Fuegians have the practice in a modified symbolized form, in the marriage of men and women belonging to groups at peace with one another. But they have the reality as well as the fiction. Between many of the states there is a chronic state of war. . . . The Horse Indians of Patagonia are also commonly at war with one another, tribe against tribe, and with the Canoe Indians, the issues of victory in every case being the capture of the women and the slaughter of the men. Farther North still, we come successively to the tribes of the Amazon and the Orinoco, all of which, excepting those reduced into missions, are continually at war with one another, and in turns rich in women or impoverished; feelings of mutual hate, and the desire for means of subsistence being concurring causes of war. . . . No argument is needed to show that, when women are systematically captured as in the above-cited cases, they are captured with a view to the rearing of children – in fact with a view to performing their part as wives. The fulness of the idea of a wife, according to our conceptions, is not, we need scarcely say, to be looked for amongst such savages. That idea can nowhere be fully realised, till the circumstances of a people enable men and women to enjoy, or at least to look forward to, a permanent consortship. . . .

'Of the tribes of the great Caribbean nation we have, happily, a pretty full account from the pen of A. von Humboldt. The Caribbees fall into small tribes or family groups, often not numbering more than from forty to fifty persons. Humboldt, indeed, takes frequent occasion to say that an Indian tribe is no more than a family. Where groups break up into sections, as they tend to do, and live apart from each other, the sections are found, though of one blood and originally of one language, soon to speak dialects so different that they cannot understand one another. Become strangers, they are enemies, except when forced to unite to make common cause against some

powerful tribe which has proved a scourge to them all: enemies, and being, at least at the time when Humboldt wrote, also cannibals, not only disposed to slay but also to eat one another.

'In their wars we may imagine that, while the male captives furnished the means of subsistence, the women were preserved to be wives and luxuries. To such an extent, indeed, did all the tribes of the Caribbean nation practise the capture of women, that the women of any tribe were found to belong to different tribes and tribes of other nations, so that nowhere were the men and women of the Caribbean race found to speak the same language.'[1]

The nature of marriage by capture will be even clearer, if we quote an account of the customs prevailing among the aborigines of Australia. Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) describes them as follows in his *Origin of Civilisation*:[2] ' "In Australia," says Oldfield, "the men are in excess of the other sex; and consequently many men of every tribe are unprovided with that special necessity for a comfortable existence – a wife, who is a slave in the strictest sense of the word, being a beast of burden, a provider of food, and a ready object on which to vent the passions that the men do not dare to vent on each other. Hence, for those coveting such a luxury, arises the necessity of stealing the woman from some other tribe. In their expedition to effect so laudable a design, they will cheerfully undergo privations and dangers equal to those they undergo when in search of blood-revenge. When, on such an errand, they discover an unprotected female, their proceedings are not of the most gentle nature. Stunning her by a blow from the *dowak* (to make her love them perhaps!), they drag her by the hair to the nearest thicket to await recovery. When she comes to her senses they force her to accompany them; and as at worst it is but the exchange of one brutal lord for another, she generally enters into the spirit of the affair, and takes as much pains to escape as if it were a matter of her own free choice."

'The following is the manner in which, according to Collins' account, the natives near Sydney used to procure their wives: "The poor wretch is stolen upon in the absence of protectors. Being first stupefied with blows inflicted with clubs or wooden swords on the head, back, and shoulders, she is then dragged through the woods by one arm, with a perseverance and violence which, it might be supposed, would displace it from its socket. The lover, or rather the ravisher, is regardless of the stones or broken pieces of trees which may lie in the route, being anxious only to convey his prize in safety to his own party, when a scene ensues too shocking to describe.

[1] McLennan, *Primitive Marriage*, p. 59.
[2] Translators' Note. – Second edition, p. 85.

This outrage is not resented by the relations of the female, who only retaliate by a similar outrage when they find an opportunity." '

Though these accounts astonish us, we may at least make the excuse that these are savage peoples, still at a very low level of civilisation. But how many know that similar customs of rape marriage still exist among many of the peoples of Russia, as related to us very vividly by Bernhard Stern in his *History of Public Morals in Russia*. Among some of the Caucasian peoples, notably the Tcherkes, this form of marriage is usual. The abductor is required by custom to inform the girl's relatives of the robbery when he has got a certain distance away. It usually takes place at night. He seats the girl before him in the saddle, and his chance of getting away with her depends on the speed of his horse. If the couple are caught by the pursuers, the ravisher loses his prize, and his horse and arms to boot; if, however, the flight is successful, the bride cannot be taken from him. The girls are also abducted in this way among the Northern Letts, in Esthonia, and among the Wotjaks. With the last mentioned, the abduction may take place in broad daylight in the fields, or when the girl is sleeping in her parents' house. Among the Circassians on the Volga abduction is also the customary method of marriage. There are villages in which no other sort of marriage has taken place for hundreds of years. Smirnow mentions a particular village, in which only two regular marriages have been celebrated within seventy years. In the Malmysch district the women are abducted from the "Chorowod" (a sort of round dance) at festival time, or in the forest when they are collecting mushrooms or berries, or even while they are washing at the river.'

As well as being the most crude and cruel of all forms of marriage, marriage by capture is also interesting as indicating the low esteem in which woman was held at this time. She was treated as a chattel, and simply regarded as booty, which the man took in order to satisfy his lust. The woman was powerless against his brute strength and submitted, just as later, in his service, she was obliged to submit to all his desires. In this sort of sexual union all such elements as love, inclination, and sexual desire, on the part of the woman were completely absent. Like the female animal which is pursued by the male and succumbs to his superior strength, so the abducted bride yields to her conqueror. Nor is it surprising that the man felt no affection or respect for the woman. Consequently, the men did not restrain themselves, and polygyny was the rule. As long as the man relied on strength, he could get any woman if he had the requisite strength and daring, for these were the only weapons in the contest for the *ravished* bride.

The custom of marriage by abduction has long since passed away, except in a few places where the level of civilisation is low. But customs still survive even to-day which, as it were, symbolise the marriage by abduction. Among the Southern Slavs, Magyars, and other Southern European peoples, the bride, although she is betrothed with the full knowledge and consent of her parents, is abducted by the bridegroom from their home, amidst great festivities. The custom of the 'honeymoon journey' is also perhaps a survival of this rape marriage. That custom of 'going away' after the wedding may be a symbol of the bridegroom's abducting the bride and wishing to liberate her completely from her parents and relations. This is not the place to discuss the honeymoon trip from the medical and hygienic standpoint. It is an unwise practice because, during the first days of marriage, the wife should avoid all such discomforts and hardships as are involved in travelling. Here we desire to refer to it merely as a very refined symbol of the old rudimentary form of marriage – the marriage by capture. There is another symbol which may be regarded as somewhat trivial, but which has received the attention of scientists – the wedding ring. The Ancient Romans always gave their brides, in addition to other presents, a plain iron ring. It was regarded as a symbol of the chain binding the two – it was one link of this chain. Much later, the custom was refined, and the modern gold wedding ring was substituted. It, too, is a symbol of the golden chain which unites the two mortals – often to their unhappiness. Originally it was placed on the finger of the bride only, but, in the course of time, it also came to be given to the man, since he too, according to the Christian Church, must be tied indissolubly to his wife, and should therefore also carry this symbol of a golden chain.[1]

Out of the marriage by abduction, developed marriage by purchase. The man chose a woman to be the mother of his children; and, as she was regarded as a slave, an inferior creature, a chattel, it was natural that he should purchase her from her parents. Women thus came to have a commercial value, since they could only be obtained at a definite price paid to the father. It is interesting to see some of the prices which prevailed. Among the Australian aborigines, the price for a wife is a knife, a glass bottle, or a nose ring; but it is higher amongst the more civilised peoples of India, varying between a pig and twenty oxen, ten head of cattle or horse, according to the condition, appearance, and age, of the woman. In Iceland the lowest price is a shilling; in Friesland, £8. In general we note that

[1] The wearing of a wedding ring by the husband is not so general in England as in other European countries.

the price is anything but exorbitant, and that the woman is rated with ordinary domestic necessities or cattle. There are anecdotes which confirm this. Thus it is related that a chief of the Fidshi Indians once agreed to purchase a rather inferior flint from the captain of a ship, and two pigs were agreed upon as the price. When he went ashore he was able to round up only one pig and as a substitute for the other sent on board – a young woman! That women are really regarded as chattels and valued accordingly is also proved by the numerous accounts of the markets which flourished, especially in the Orient, where female slaves were openly sold by auction.

Stern, whose book on Russia we have already cited, tells us that the sale of wives is still common there, e.g. in Caucasia, among the Kirghiz, the Kalmucks, the Tartars, and generally throughout Siberia. 'When the Boyat desires to marry, or more correctly to obtain a wife, he must purchase a bride in the proper manner from the fortunate possessor of daughters. The price is usually 500 to 700 roubles; exceptional bargains may be had at 200 to 300 roubles in addition to sheep and cattle. The Boyat is very poor, so that the high price is a great hardship, and indeed he has to carry the burden of debt throughout his life. In order to marry he raises a loan, and as a rule he is not able to pay this back until his union is blessed with daughters, who, in turn, when they are married, will recoup the money necessary to pay off the debt. The Boyat naturally looks at marriage from a sternly practical standpoint; what he wants is strength and hands to work, and he looks for these in the wife and the children who will follow. It is doubtful whether this custom may be expected to disappear as the people become more civilised, for we find that not only does marriage by purchase exist in comparatively civilised parts of Russia, but it is even spreading to districts where it was not known formerly. When a wife is being purchased the transaction is just like any other business deal. They shake hands and take a drink together; the purchaser turns the girl round and inspects her carefully, as he would any other merchandise. If he is not satisfied with this inspection, his female relatives take the girl to the bathroom and submit her to a more thorough examination. In some parts of the South-Eastern Steppes, the girl is sold to the highest bidder; her tears and threats of suicide leave them quite unmoved.' It is well known that in Petrograd and Moscow, at Easter and Whitsuntide, public marriage-markets were held, at which girls of marriageable age, elaborately dressed, gathered together in the churchyard. The youths inspected the beauties from head to foot and made their choice. The price was then agreed upon, and the marriage celebrated.

Can we wonder that under such conditions, where the woman is only a chattel, polygyny is as general as among savages, and a man has as many wives as his means permit? Provided the price (called in the Tartar language *Kalim*) is paid, then nothing else matters. Mantegazza (op. cit.) also refers to this subject, and particularly to the customs of the Eastyaks and the Samoyeds: 'In order to give some idea of the *kalim* I will quote the price paid for an Eastyak girl; 40 roubles in gold, two fish skins, six yards of red cloth, stuff for three men's coats, one large saucepan, two smaller saucepans, three women's dresses, four women's furs, 29 white fox skins, 4 beaver skins. The Samoyeds also purchase their women, some costing as much as 100 to 150 reindeer. The price of a girl being so high, one can understand why even the richest of the Samoyeds seldom have more than five wives.'

The woman's status being so low, it is inevitable that the husband assumes the right to dispose of the wife again if he wishes to sell or barter her. The following communication on this subject is from Stern[1]: 'Can it surprise us that these people see nothing strange or immoral in exchanging or selling their wives? If a Tungusian finds that his wife pleases his neighbour, he will willingly barter her for the other's wife, with a bag of grain into the bargain, and the women have no remedy. . . . In October 1902, two married men of the village of Klyutschi, in the Saratov province, one day had a big business deal. Since they lacked ready money, the trading had to be carried on by barter. Horses, cows, carts, and other household goods, had already been bartered, but the totals would not tally. Again they tried, but could not come to a settlement. The situation was becoming more and more difficult, as for certain reasons it was essential that the difference should be properly adjusted. Then one of the peasants suddenly had a brilliant inspiration: "Glory to God," he said, "let us put our wives into the scale." The other agreed, and now began a haggling from which even horse-dealers could have learnt something. The wives were extolled to the skies by their fortunate possessors, as the repositories of all virtues. Naturally, each tried to assess his wife as high as possible, in order to pull off the deal to his advantage. Agreement was at last achieved, the deed sealed with the usual handshake and the inevitable *margaratisch*. It then remained to carry out the contract, whereupon it appeared that they had reckoned without their host. One peasant returned home and told his better half how satisfactorily the deal had been arranged, and desired to lead her to her new master, but he met with such a

[1] Op. cit.

reception that he was glad to get away. He sadly informed his creditor that his wife would not agree to the arrangement. The other, however, would not hear of a breach of the contract, and demanded that it should be carried out. He ultimately went to law. As the court did not see its way clear to enforce the contract, the peasants took their departure shaking their heads.'

An even more amusing case is found in the following extract: 'In December 1903, the Russian papers from Irkutsk related that a peasant from the village of Petrovka had written the following letter to the Chief of Police for the District: "I have the honour to request, that your Excellency should most graciously insert a notice in the papers, that in Petrovka there is a twenty-year-old woman – my wife – and two sucking pigs, the whole lot for sale for 25 roubles. The woman is very pretty and hard working, but quarrelsome and bad-tempered. The pigs are fat and well fed. If required, I am prepared to send the woman and the pigs C.O.D." When the Chief of Police received it he went to Petrovka, thinking that the peasant was not in his right mind. But his fears were unjustified. The peasant was a very sensible fellow, quite normal. He explained that he wished to get rid of his wife because she made his life a misery. The Chief of Police sent for her, and asked what she thought of the proposal. Naturally she was not very flattered, but did not see anything very strange about it.' . . .

It would be wrong to believe that the scandalous custom of selling wives is peculiar to Russia. There are documents showing that in former times in China, England, Norway, and Iceland, an uncongenial wife might be given away or sold. According to Gustav Klemm (*Die Frauen*), women in England were sold publicly by their husbands as late as the nineteenth century:

'If a woman provoked her husband's displeasure, she could be bound, taken to the cattle market in a halter, and there sold to either a widower or a bachelor. When paid for she became the legitimate wife of the purchaser without further ceremony, and the children of such a union were regarded as legitimate.'

From marriage by purchase, as from marriage by abduction, modified forms developed, in which the feeling of the parties was respected. The purchase of the wife became merely symbolic. First, the purchase money, instead of being paid to the parents, was given to the wife herself, as a bridal gift; then later the bridegroom succeeded in claiming a sum with the bride. The essential element of marriage by purchase (namely, that it was primarily a commercial transaction) still remained; the theory was that, since the husband was now responsible for the maintenance of the wife for the rest of

her life, he was justified in asking for a lump sum, which varied in accordance with the station in life. Thus arose that institution which is still common to-day, the dowry or *dot.*

In the early history of our own forefathers we find accounts of great sums of money and gifts of precious stones, which were sent to the bride's parents on the occasion of the betrothal of a princess. Later we find that the gifts were made to the bridegroom.

The forms of marriage just described were real marriages since they were *permanent* unions. It is true that polygyny and polyandry flourished side by side with them, so that the ethical standard was not high, according to the modern view-point. Still, they had a legal basis; the husband, either by abduction or by purchase, made a formal declaration of the union, which legitimised the position of the wife before the other members of the community. It is true that the actual duration of such marriages depended entirely on the will of the husband, as did also the number of wives which he chose to acquire in this way, and the respective positions he assigned to them. In the history of marriage among the ancient Teutons, we find that it was customary for a man to have a chief wife and several concubines or additional wives. This arrangement can be explained by the observation I have just made; and the same is true of the polygyny which still prevails in Oriental countries. We may regard the polygyny of Mohammedan peoples as indicating that they have remained at a level of civilisation similar to that of our own ancestors of the Dark Ages, but it is also possible that their system shows a better appreciation of the real nature of the male. We shall discuss this later.

Although we modern people refuse to admit the connection between our own marriage system and the rude customs of primitive times, the fact remains that modern marriage still bears many traces of its past history. It is true that marriage by abduction no longer exists, except perhaps in the very modified form where a husband abducts the bride from the parents' home; but the essential features, both desirable and undesirable, of marriage by purchase still flourish.

'We Europeans have thin skins but an impenetrable armour of hypocrisy, and call the purchase price by the pleasant sounding name of *dot.* But many modern marriages are still essentially business transactions with only this distinction: whereas the Kaffir bridegroom pays the parents for his bride and in addition provides a home for her; among us, the man puts himself up to auction and barters himself for a young girl plus a good round sum. . . . I do not wish to appear unduly cynical, and realise that provision for the children may require the union of two family fortunes as well as the union of two

bodies and souls, but the economic question should be subordinated to love and mutual attraction. Usually, the parents are chiefly concerned with the union of the two family fortunes. Love is not taken into account. 'Love will come later'; it will grow gradually as the grass in the meadow, and will be a nice comfortable habit, like flannel underwear, or an old arm-chair! . . .

'Unfortunately, however, between persons who have thus been bought and sold, mutual incompatibility grows up more frequently than love ; and the wife, who longs, even more than the husband, for a deep and really satisfying passion, seeks in adultery the pleasures to which she is entitled. Many marriages are nothing more than business partnerships for the manufacture, or rather legitimation, of children.'[1]

I have chosen to preface my own remarks on this subject with this quotation from a celebrated author, because his words reveal the facts of modern marriage so ruthlessly that as moral men we should feel ashamed. Love, inclination, and affection, are thrust into the background. Ideal love is rare compared with marriages for money, marriages of convenience, or 'common sense' marriages, all of which are esteemed more highly. If two impecunious lovers marry from real attraction and without any material interest, we shake our heads and think that they are crazy. We have all heard the oft-repeated formula: 'Love flies out of the window when poverty enters the door.' Whatever the world may think, I confidently believe in the old maxim, 'Love in a cottage.' Contempt for the most sacred of human emotions is the greatest crime of modern society.

[1] Mantegazza, *Gli Amori degli Uomini.*

CHAPTER II

MODERN MARRIAGE

WHEN we speak of modern marriage, we mean the lifelong union of one man with one woman, for the purpose of founding a family – for that purpose which we have already described as the object of existence. The spread of this form of *monogamy* throughout the whole world is primarily due to the Catholic Church. The sacrament of marriage and the idea of marital fidelity are the basis of modern monogamy.

It is impossible to refer to even a tithe of the innumerable works which have been written on the subject of monogamy and its relation to *polygamy*.[1] By *monogamy* we mean the marriage of one woman to one man; by *polygyny* the marriage of a man to several women; by *polyandry* the union of a woman with many husbands. 'Monogamy, the union of one woman with one man for life, dissoluble only by death, is one of the fundamental bases of the Christian Faith, and was a potent factor in attracting honour and respect for the new faith when it held up the cross before the satiated passion-weary Pagans.'[2] Although this is a true statement of the origin of monogamy in our civilisation, there is evidence that monogamy also developed among peoples living quite remote from Christian influence. Here it was not due to religion, but to a high moral sense, or perhaps to economy. Thus we are told that the natives of California and ancient Mexico practised monogamy, but only temporarily, since they could change their wives if they wished. It may be objected that the term monogamy is not strictly applicable to this sort of marriage, since the only restriction was that a man could have only one wife *at a time*. But modern monogamy involves the conception not only of one wife at a time, but also of eternal and indissoluble union. Monogamy in this sense must be pronounced unjustifiable, since the Church which supports it cannot logically give permission for the marriage of divorced persons.

Monogamy is, however, also to be criticised on another count – it is contrary to Nature. It is true that there are examples in biology of animals which form permanent unions. But although these cases are interesting, it must be remembered that they are exceptional; and, moreover, it does not follow that from them we should draw conclusions as to the disposition of man, who is much above the other animals.

[1] Translators' Note. – Polygamy includes polygyny and polyandry.
[2] Mantegazza, op. cit.

A distinction is usually made between men and women, with regard to monogamy. It is asserted that monogamy is right for women but not for men. It is claimed that since a woman, when once impregnated, cannot be impregnated again until the child is born, Nature intended her to be monogamous. A woman, by giving birth to a child, lays the foundation of a family, and the paternity of the children would be doubtful if she had had intercourse with various men. A man, on the other hand, may have relations with many women simultaneously without any doubt resulting as to the paternity of the children. Now these facts may all be true, but they have really nothing to do with monogamy. This word is of Greek origin and contains the idea of wedlock or marriage. But when people talk of men or women having or not having a 'polygamous nature' they are not referring to marriage at all; they are merely thinking of sexual relations with one or more parties as the case may be. It would therefore be more correct, following Eberstadt's suggestion, to use the term monandry as contrasted with polyandry. It follows that the popular talk of a monogamous or polygamous disposition involves a confusion of terms. Whether human beings have a natural disposition to marry one person or many persons, or indeed to marry at all, is a question which nobody is in a position to answer. The only question we can really discuss is whether men and women respectively have a natural disposition towards relations with only one or with many members of the opposite sex. However, the term polygamous has come to be used so commonly in this false connotation that we shall continue to use it in this book.

We noted in our account of the evolution of marriage from marriage by capture and marriage by purchase, that, under these forms, the men assumed the right to change their partners at will, so long as their strength and means allowed. This, together with the extremely low esteem in which women were held, resulted in polygyny coming to be regarded as quite natural. It was inevitable that the woman should be promiscuous too. Why should she remain true to a man who had bought her and might lend her to a friend? Why should she not find more pleasure in some other man? The practice of polygyny still flourishes in various parts of the world. Such peoples show much opposition to the efforts of missionaries to induce them to adopt monogamy, which they regard as unnatural and incomprehensible. Yet, though they do not enjoy the blessing of the Church, the marriage-rules of these peoples are quite rigid. Marriage is a definite legal institution in spite of polygyny, and there are adequate measures for enforcing discipline on the women. There is usually a chief wife, who has authority over the others until she

falls from favour and is replaced by another chosen in her stead.

Real polyandry is usually only found, even among primitive peoples, before marriage. Promiscuous intercourse with men of the same or neighbouring tribes comes to an end with marriage; adultery is sometimes punished with death. But there are some peoples who observe polyandry even during marriage. In Thibet the custom prevails that, when a man marries, all his younger brothers become husbands of his wife as well. The children call each of the husbands father. Even though a woman may already have four husbands, she has the right to choose one or more in addition. Mantegazza tells of polyandry in Polynesia, which he observed himself. According to him, polyandry and polygyny exist side by side in the upper classes. Among the Eskimos, the general moral depravity allows polygamy in every form, not excluding incest.

So much, then, for polygamy among primitive peoples. But the important question is: 'What about ourselves?'

In spite of frequent assertions to the contrary, which are really due to moral prejudice, it is an indisputable fact that human beings, women as well as men, are certainly not naturally monogamous. On the contrary, there is, in both men and women, a desire for change of partner. The extent to which this desire receives satisfaction depends on the degree of inhibition. 'In Europe, society rests on the high ethical basis of monogamy, but how many men are there who have possessed only one woman, and how many women are there who have never desired or flirted with any other man but their own husband? In love there are *many* conflicting forces, of which our actual conduct is merely the resultant. Sexual desire brings the man to the woman and seals their first embrace with the ineffaceable memory of a passion enjoyed together. Whether this union is sanctified with holy water, or sealed by a state official, or only sworn by the parties to one another – in any case, there is a strong *likelihood* that it may endure for a long time.' Mantegazza thus begins his chapter on monogamy. I agree unreservedly with what he says, and desire especially to draw the attention of the reader to the last sentence, which says all there is to be said on the possibility, purpose, and justification, of the institution of monogamy.

What we call morality or respectability has decreed that in our society monogamy is the only recognised sort of sexual union between man and woman. Originally, as we have already mentioned, it was forcibly imposed by the Church on a reluctant society, although we must admit that, without it, morality and the whole of the social and ethical system would be deprived of its keystone. But while we all acknowledge the aims and achievements of monogamy, how many are

willing to comply with the restrictions it imposes on the individual? This unwillingness is quite natural. The historical and religious legends brought forward in support of these restrictions are mythical. The average man and woman are the slaves of their sexual desires, and these are scarcely ever confined to a single individual. Sooner or later, openly or secretly, large numbers of couples succumb. *We can say that monogamy really exists only when two persons remain absolutely faithful to each other, purely from a desire to do so, and not from respect for morality, ethics, or the opinion of the world.* It is true that there are such persons, and for them is true, what I said above, about the old maxim, 'Love in a cottage.' With them monogamy springs from an inner urge, and is quite unconstrained.

The majority of people, however, have no such urge, and if they accept the restrictions of monogamy at all, it is only because of inhibitions due to ethics, public opinion, the Church, the law, or some other external factor. But this long chain of inhibitions has only the strength of its weakest link, and a link gives way more frequently than is usually realised. Men especially, claiming a 'polygamous disposition,' indulge their polygamous desires although they deny the same right to women! They deny it because of the possibility of pregnancy. This injustice will persist so long as the present moral attitude lasts and the hypocritical world maintains its attitude to the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child.

The same lip-service to convention and public opinion, together with the laws of the Church and State, explains much marital infidelity and hypocrisy and must be held chiefly responsible for the immorality of modern life. It is the recognition of this fact which has led to the (sometimes extravagant) demands for the recognition of free love. However, this subject will be discussed later.

If we examine the customary forms of marriage, we shall realise that we can scarcely expect either morality or love in modern marriage. Although we pride ourselves on being so far above the savages, the essentials of marriage by purchase still persist in our society. It is present-day 'realism' that causes us to look for rank, name, and fortune in marriage, rather than for character and respectability. In former times, it was the man who purchased a wife; nowadays the parents of the girl buy a husband.[1] The purchase-price has the pleasant sounding name of *dot*, and depends on the fortune, age, and position, of the prospective husband, as well as the attractiveness of the girl. The parents of unattractive daughters are willing to make

[1] Editor's Note.–This is more applicable to continental countries than to the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

great sacrifices to secure a husband for them. No questions are asked about the health, character, or previous life of the man, although these things are of really paramount importance for future happiness, if indeed happiness is looked for. The feelings of the girl are not consulted; the choice is made, not by her, but by parents. The good old story of 'the gradual growth of love after marriage' is still dished up to the girl; and it is this idea, together with the stress on money, which is responsible for so much married misery. The young inexperienced girl takes the advice of her wise experienced elders, who are 'only advising her for her own good,' buries all her long cherished ideals, and enters marriage often with the realisation that she is being sold and the hope of an early love affair. At the same time the bridegroom is planning to continue the delights of his bachelor days – more freely, he hopes, thanks to the increase in his fortunes. He accepts the drawback of an unloved and unattractive wife, in view of the advantages in other directions. The 'good match' becomes a very bad match when the money, which was its only support, has gone, and with it all the advantages which were to accrue from this excellent stroke of business. A bad speculation, which frequently ends in bankruptcy.

A somewhat modified form of marriage by purchase, is the *mariage de convenance* or 'common sense marriage.' Money does not obtrude so obviously, its place being taken by various other advantages. To this class of marriage belongs the 'marrying into a business' (generally belonging to the father-in-law) or the marriage of a girl to a bankrupt nobleman. The motive on one side is the prospect of an assured future, and on the other the glamour of the escutcheon, which changes the daughter of a *bourgeois* into a countess, and brings 'blue blood' into the family. How stupid human beings are, in spite of their reason!

There is little to choose between these marriages of convenience and the 'common sense' marriages. As a typical example of this last category, we may take the marrying, or rather prostituting, of a young girl to an old and worn-out, but rich, husband. The girl's youthful hopes are sacrificed to the 'common sense' which assures her material security while the old man lives and a good inheritance when he dies. Such marriages are so base, and the parents so criminal, that they ought to be prohibited by law. What can we expect from the poor young creature with a healthy sex impulse clamouring for satisfaction? Is she not inevitably driven to prostitution, deceit, and vulgarity, just when there was a chance to bring out the best in her? But *common-sense* parents never ask themselves these questions!

These short descriptions suffice to show that many modern mar-

riages are not to be regarded as unions for the noble purpose of founding a family, but simply as business transactions.

We find 'convenience' and 'common sense' playing a part in marriages in which the business aspect is kept in the background. I am referring now to the well-known fact that officers in the Austrian and German armies are required, when entering into marriage, to see that the marriage is 'in conformity with their rank.' The law actually provides that a recognisance (*Kaution*) must be executed to provide for the officer out of his wife's money, so that he is assured of a livelihood 'in conformity with his rank.' It does not matter whether the money comes from the daughter of an innkeeper, a pork butcher, or a nobleman; this is immaterial, so long as there is enough of it to provide a wife 'in conformity with his rank.' Daughters of well-to-do parents may therefore always purchase an officer, replete with orders and a fine rattling sabre. Even more apparent is the note of 'convenience' in the custom among the nobility, of marrying only with persons of equal rank. The whole marriage-system prevailing in Royal circles shows the failure of these 'common-sense' marriages which are usually arranged for 'reasons of State.' If a royal personage dares to marry for love, he must abandon all the privileges of his rank, and contract a morganatic marriage, the children of which have no rights of inheritance, and the wife, 'not being of equal birth,' is placed in a degrading position.

In contrast to all these forms of marriage, we have the love match which is usually derided and whose very existence is doubted. Marriages for love fall into discredit because in many cases the nature of love is not understood. Those marriages in which 'love' is simply sexual desire, deservedly receive condemnation. It is well known that 'eternal love' fades only too quickly when once the sexual glamour has disappeared. This must almost inevitably happen after repeated sexual intercourse, if the attraction necessary for tumescence has faded. The all-too-brief period of 'passionate love' is followed by disenchantment, satiety, disgust. This is all the more likely because people learn each other's true character only by living together. All the excellent qualities which were simulated during courtship are very rapidly shed; the man who was formerly 'head over heels in love' sees the woman's soul naked before him, and *vice versa*. Marriages based on 'love' of this sort do not last very long.

But love and sexual desire are two very different things. I have already pointed out that real love is not one emotion but a complex of emotions, which find their expression in a feeling of oneness.[1] This feeling of oneness depends on common interests, but it cannot

[1] Translators' Note.—*Vide* Note on p. 137.

and must not on any account be based on material interests. A marriage based on love of this sort offers some guarantee that the parties will need no external prohibitions to keep them faithful to each other; the prohibitions will spring from this inner feeling of oneness. The conception of 'oneness' presupposes an intimate acquaintance with one another's character.

Among the proletariat and peasantry, we see evidence of a previously existing, and in some cases still existing, custom of 'trial marriage.' Thus it is sometimes a recognised institution that a man and woman shall have sexual relations outside marriage for a varying period, partly in order to get to know one another, and partly (especially among primitive peoples) in order to test whether the woman is capable of bearing children. There are some peoples, for example, in India, South America, and Australia, who regard a woman as fit for marriage only if she has already given a proof of her capacity in this direction by having actually brought to birth an illegitimate child. Among these peoples childlessness is the greatest of all disgraces. The practice of pre-marital sexual relations, probably derived from such customs as these, still persists in the lower classes in our own country.[1] The man has intercourse with the chosen woman before marriage, and the impending birth of a child is the most usual reason for a wedding. Here no questions are asked as to social position or means; love alone decides, but love in the false sense of sexual desire, which we have discussed above. And so, here too, love soon disappears; – often in a few weeks kisses give place to blows!

The grounds on which men and women, respectively, marry, are very different. The motive usually given, which is based on an ideal conception of life, is the foundation of the family and the maintenance of the race. But a little critical investigation soon disposes of this. Indeed, there are many marriages in which, from the outset, this element is deliberately excluded. Are not most modern marriages undertaken with the deliberate intention of *not* having children? Are not all possible precautions taken to *avoid* having children? The desire to maintain the race is certainly not the motive which induces most people to marry. The motives which are in the foreground of consciousness, are usually advantages of various kinds which are expected from marriage. There is the desire for a less harassing mode of life – this is the commonest motive in men – or the desire to be free of restrictions imposed upon one by parents or public opinion – this is the most usual motive in women. In women there is also, of course, the desire to be supported, and in addition the

[1] Austria.

desire to fulfil the purpose of Nature – though the early arrival of children is not contemplated. It is the last factor which induces that feminine character trait which Weininger calls the 'instinct of the procuress.' Woman is nowhere seen to better advantage in this role of procuress than at that well-recognised, highly civilised institution – the ball. The mothers introduce their prettily dressed daughters to the men, and lead them up with the secret hope that this may well be the first step towards a marriage. There is something of the pandar in the very method of introduction, but it is more blatant in the long rigmaroles poured into the ears of the men, in praise of the real and imaginary virtues possessed by the daughter. The mother, quite conscious of her aim, plays the pandar, at every opportunity when convention permits the contact of the daughter with numbers of men. The father may at first make a show of resistance to these efforts, but he is very skilfully induced to see the pressing need of getting the daughter married, and he soon acquiesces in every possible means of achieving this purpose. How otherwise could we explain the 'matrimonial advertisements' which, under a 'guarantee of authenticity,' set out the real and fictitious qualities of eligible ladies? And in the absence of other means, men resort to this method of becoming acquainted with marriageable girls!

It might be thought that the matrimonial advertisement represents the utter absence of idealism, but there is a still lower stage of moral degradation to be found, in the employment of the marriage broker, who still flourishes in Europe. The parents, in their anxiety to get their daughter off their hands, and the man, in his eagerness to do a good stroke of business, forget that they are dealing with a living creature with a will, desires, and emotions, of her own. The business will be rapidly concluded if the mother is a good procuress and the man is weary of the discomforts of bachelorhood. These two worthy allies join hands with a knowing leer across the body of the unfortunate girl!

One would think that general progress in education and the worldwide feminist movement would by now have taught women that marriage is not necessarily the bed of roses which tradition represents it to be. Different people have very different views on marriage, but all are unanimous that women yearn for marriage and are born to be mothers. I cannot illustrate this universal conviction better than by quoting a journalistic article, by Alfred Hedenstjerna, which appeared in a magazine some years ago:

'There are choleric women, phlegmatic women, women sanguine, melancholy, big, little, young, old, thin, fat, ugly, pretty, bad, good,

black, blonde, and red; women who can cook, women who cannot cook, women loveable, intolerable, garrulous, intelligent, foolish, boring, and interesting – but in one respect they are all alike. . . . They all want to get married!

'They will sacrifice father, mother, brother, sister, Sunday school, life, and health, in order to get a husband. There are even examples of girls of fifteen putting away their dolls when an offer turned up.

'They see that their married friends are thin, pale, and ill, that they have lost their hair and cheerfulness, have to use their silk scarfs to wrap up little crying brats, and their false teeth are still in the tumbler at 11 o'clock in the morning; whilst they themselves are still, at 35, young, fresh, strong, healthy, well-groomed, *svelte*, bright, and interesting. And yet they envy all their sisters who are married.

'I don't understand women at all!

'They are so timid that they will not pick up a dear little crab and throw him into the saucepan, but if they have danced five waltzes and three polkas with a great hairy man of 30, they are ready to fall on his neck and kiss and hug him. Really, it's amazing!

'I knew a woman who ran away from a quiet old cow which had never hurt anyone in its life, but she was not at all frightened of a marine officer who had killed real Soudanese and Indians when he was in the English Army. Women think twice before buying a hat, but not once when it is a question of taking a husband. It is true that prospective husbands do not wait as patiently as hats in a shop!

'If women want a new dress they make careful inquiries about the cloth, but one has never known a girl to go to the mother of a young man before becoming engaged, to inquire what sort of a person he is.

'Women's greatest fault is inconsistency. One evening, I tried to get a girl to go for a walk with me in the garden for ten minutes. She refused from fear of catching a cold; but the next day she ran off with a tenor to England, where the weather was much worse!

'If only they can get married they will stick at nothing. A girl who belongs to the Society for the Protection of Dumb Animals will marry a butcher; a young lady who does not believe in God will marry a minister; a strictly religious girl – a free-thinker. A girl may be the treasurer of a society for distributing pocket Bibles among heathen children, but she is ready to purloin the funds and run away with a circus rider, provided that he has made two things clear – one, that he loves her, and the other, that the society is constituted on a false basis because children who dress according to the fashion of the Garden of Eden, have no use for *pocket* Bibles.

'All political parties, especially the Socialists, would show more sense if they had their doctrines expounded by good-looking people.

For, though a girl has known her mother for twenty-five years and her lover for twenty-five days, she will more readily believe what he whispers than what she shouts.

'If a religious man offers his hand to a religious girl, she takes it out of sympathy; but if an atheist desires her hand she says "Yes" with the pious object of converting him! If an old man wants a young girl she takes him in order to brighten his old age, and if an old lady takes a young man she does it in order to be a mother to him!

'There are really only two things which can make a girl of to-day refuse an offer; either she is not right in her head, or she has something better in view. But in the latter case it is not wrong to get engaged on trial while waiting for the better one; for to a reasonable man of our time an engagement-ring does not mean "Already Booked," but "Long Live Competition."

'A man who is not a fool, a scientist, a philanthropist, a commercial traveller, or a tram-conductor, must, in order to fill the emptiness of his heart and kill the idle hours, choose between the bottle, a mistress, and a wife. But drink or mistresses only excite him and make him a slave. A wife, on the other hand, at best makes him into an idol which she worships, and at worst into a fatted calf which she feeds and looks after.

'A woman, unless she is an actress, a Sunday-school teacher, or a Salvation Army lassie, can only find an outlet for the warmth within her, by taking a poodle, a canary, or a husband.

'Lucky she who chooses a dog! If she gets him while he is still a puppy, then she is his first love; if she looks after him properly and gives him what agrees with him, she is also his last, which in the case of a husband, even if she dies first, is extremely dubious. Badly trained *men* have a nasty habit of leaving their true mistresses and wagging their tails at other women; I have come across many naughty old *dogs*, but never one who did this!

'If the poodle walks on all fours it is quite natural. But if the husband comes home on all fours, after a night out, then she must put cold compresses on his head, and he grumbles next morning about the household expenditure. "My dear, we really must spend less." But if the woman answers in a friendly tone, "That comes well from you after last night" – then there is the devil to pay!

'A poodle will lie quietly under a chair; but a husband will not. When the poodle grows old and his teeth fall out, he sits contentedly gnawing his paws in his basket. But when the husband grows old, he frisks around more than ever, and snaps – mostly at his wife. It is true that the dog sometimes misbehaves and soils the carpet, but then he does not smoke cigars and ruin the curtains.

'In this vale of tears nothing is permanent; all things pass, poodles as well as husbands. But when the dog dies, one can buy a new one, who does not mind his mistress's bent back or the wrinkles in her forehead, who licks the hand of 70 as affectionately as that of 17. But when a husband dies, he has usually given his widow so many grey hairs that she has no prospects in the matrimonial market.

'Lucky too the woman who chooses a canary! I ask you, which is the nicer, to be wakened from one's slumbers by a deep sulky voice, cursing because his boots are not ready, and asking ironically "Can't you train the servants better," or by the joyous song of the bird? When the little bird gets its food it eats with relish, and shows its gratitude with a friendly glance, but when he gets his beefsteak, he assumes a martyred air and asks "What did the tanner charge for this?" When the canary gets its little pot of water, it splashes around gratefully, but when she brings her husband's shaving water, he asks furiously: "How did you ice the water?" If the canary dies, she can have him stuffed and put on the mantelpiece as an ornament. But if the husband dies, in addition to the expense of mourning clothes, she has to pay for a headstone to keep him in his grave.

'. . . But all the same they all want to get married! . . .'

This sketch is of course deliberately exaggerated and humorous, and has absolutely no scientific value; but it illustrates the general opinion of the nature of marriage and the relation between husband and wife.

I have already insisted that the position of the wife in marriage should be much more than that of a 'good housewife,' – 'a good wife and mother.' The conception of the wife's position has changed completely, especially during the last century. She is no longer a slave as among primitive peoples, nor a mere household drudge. The fundamental basis remains that the woman is the soul of the home. The social conditions determine whether her help is mainly practical or mainly spiritual; but in both cases, the first duty of a wife is to be a woman; she must be at once her husband's mistress and his best friend. She should be a man's truest and most devoted friend, sharing good fortune and bad alike, sympathising with his troubles, and standing loyally by his side in the battle of life. This friendship will be possible only if the wife takes the trouble to share his interests. Selfishness must give place to altruism, indeed she must frequently thrust her own ego right into the background. But she can only do this if the husband, on his side, treats her as a real friend. As I have insisted, she must also be her husband's mistress. She usually is, at first, since sex usually dominates the first period of marriage, but she

should remain so always. Balzac in his *Physiologie du Mariage* writes: 'In marriage there must be ceaseless war against the all-destroying monster – habit.' It is primarily the woman's business to keep this monster at bay. She must take care to remain always attractive. She must be careful not to abandon all her modesty, which, as I have already pointed out, has an attraction for the man. She must be wooed and won anew each time. The art of alternately yielding and denying, which she practised during courtship, should be maintained during marriage. Only thus can she remain forever his mistress, as well as his wife.

Disaster will ensue if the woman destroys his illusion. If the wife casts aside all modesty, and does not take the trouble to keep herself young and attractive, the husband will begin by ignoring her and soon come to despise her. In nine cases out of ten it is the wife who is responsible, in the first place, for an unhappy marriage, for it is she who drives her husband, with his polygamous disposition, to seek elsewhere what he cannot find at home – a mistress. Of course the position is more desperate, if from the outset there was no real love, as in marriages of convenience or common sense. The old fairy tale, that love will develop after marriage, seldom comes true in practice. In such cases the husband, even at the time of marriage, already intends to find his real mistress elsewhere. If a few sparks of love flicker up momentarily, they are soon extinguished, because such love is simply an animal impulse without any real bond of union between the pair. This lack of inner harmony means that the friendship never gets any deeper than a fleeting acquaintanceship. After all, why should it? Is not money more important than friendship? And this is the idea of a couple who marry to found a family! Better if they have no family.

Provided that the union is, in the first instance, based on real love, the woman can easily remain the husband's mistress, however hopeless it may be in a marriage of convenience. But the second requirement, that of friendship, is always difficult and sometimes impossible. It is very difficult if the two parties have a different standard of education, though, even in such a case, a loving woman may succeed. Who does not know of cases in which a young wife has filled up the gaps in her education, in order that she should be able to think and feel on the same plane as her husband? And who does not know of cases, in which the man has descended from a higher plane to meet his wife on her own level. Goethe and Christiane Vulpius! 'Happy the man who frees his wife! Frees her from the physical burdens which Nature has imposed on her, from helplessness and loneliness, from suffering and restrictions! Happy the man who educates his wife, strengthens

her and makes her his! He not only frees her; he frees himself.'[1]

Friendship alone will ensure for the wife the position which is rightly hers, and such friendship will be rewarded a thousandfold. But the qualities innate in woman, the typical feminine characteristics, are just those which are inimical to friendship. For in addition to an understanding of the weaknesses of the male, – and of these there are enough, in all conscience! – it is also necessary that she should possess the virtue of patience.

How frequently we hear of the patient wife and her martyrdom! It must be admitted that, to some extent, a wife must be prepared to be a martyr, but this does not mean that she has forever to carry a crown of thorns. It is merely necessary that she should have common-sense, understand the weaknesses of man, and be willing to give in, in the interest of conjugal peace. In contrast to the patient wife, we have the 'nagging' wife. I place them side by side, because in the difference between them lies the difference between a happy marriage and an unhappy one. Ignoring the many reasons which often justify the wife's complaints, let us consider the patient wife.

A husband who has contracted a number of bachelor-habits requires a reasonable time to give them up. He does not immediately realise that he cannot expect to go on living in the same way as before. But some habits, or, if you will, vices, are so strong that, with the best will in the world, a man, however deeply he loves and respects his wife, cannot give them up. It is only necessary to refer to three everyday examples: inveterate drinking, smoking, and gambling.

Before he married, no one had the right, and so no one dared, to interfere with him in this respect. But what power is strong enough to change him suddenly so that he can renounce pleasures which have come to mean so much to him? The unwise woman who has given the first proof of her folly by marrying such a man, loses no time in making her influence felt; she is going to show the world that she has so much power over him that he will give up these vices in no time. If she really does succeed, then it is the husband who deserves credit rather than she, for it was not her power but the power of his love which has achieved this miracle. But alas if she fails! She does not see the unwisdom, the hopelessness, of such an undertaking from the beginning. Her pride is hurt, she feels lowered in her own estimation, but still more so in the eyes of the world. She has a grievance; she begins to show coldness towards her husband, and this will soon lead to coldness on his side. Continual scolding and nagging take the place of love and harmony.

How different it is if the wife knows how to suffer in patience! The

[1] Michelet, *De l'amour*.

way to her husband's love and sympathy is not by nagging and peremptory commands. Gradually it will be borne in upon him that he is in the wrong; and, conscious of his weakness, he agrees that he must repay the love and kindness of his wife. The patient wife conquers him by conquering herself.

Anticipating a little, I should like to describe the wife in a situation of real martyrdom: I mean that really intolerable situation, which arises when the husband, presuming on his 'polygamous disposition,' commits adultery. Here again we have a striking contrast between the behaviour of a patient wife and that of a nagging wife. The latter, forgetting her self-respect, rushes round to all her friends, telling of her husband's 'disgusting' behaviour. She has only one aim – revenge. And what this will lead to is only too obvious. But how differently does the patient wife behave. Conscious of her dignity, and confident in the strength of her own personality, she will be patient even in this trial, and will console herself by remembering the love which once made her so happy. With this in mind, she will not drag herself and her husband through the mud, to become objects of the malicious gossip of the world. She weeps alone and mourns her lost happiness. But this is only when she realises that she has lost not only her husband's fidelity but his love as well. How often, however, does the 'polygamous' man commit adultery lightly, in a passing mood! How often does he not regret it the moment it is over! It was a purely physical infidelity, in which the mind and spirit were not involved, – a mere animal satisfaction of the sex-impulse and nothing more. It is difficult for women to understand how easy it is for men to do this. It is only when the wife is intelligent, and knows deep within her that *nothing* can change her husband's love for her, that she can stifle her tears and understand and forgive. (All this would be so at least, if there only were such an ideal woman in the world!) In practice, however, such an ending is almost inconceivable, because there is always some 'sympathetic' friend ready to pour poison into the ears of even the most intelligent and patient wife.

Women cannot understand sexual intercourse without love. The wife feels that her pride has been injured, and even though she may not show it, she is deeply wounded. The man comes to realise how badly he has acted; he feels the injury he has done to the good wife whom he really loves, and tries to atone for his backsliding by little attentions. He curses the hour in which his animal instincts got the upper hand. His own self-reproaches will be much more efficacious than the threats and recriminations of a nagging wife, which will only provoke his pride and *amour-propre*, so that the last vestige of harmony will disappear. Once his spirit of resistance is awakened, he

will seek more and more to escape from his nagging wife and his intolerable home-life. Now for the first time he seeks, and finds, in the arms of another, not love perhaps but at least peace and happiness. How much misery would be avoided if women could only come to recognise the truth of this analysis.

I recognise that this last paragraph will provoke many a head-shake and ironical smile; I shall be regarded as an idealist, a dreamer. But it is not idealism which has dictated the words. It is a considered and sound judgment based on the many experiences which I have been enabled to collect in the course of many years' close study of the psychology of woman.

My discussion would be one-sided if I failed to say something about the husband's position in marriage. It may be objected that the observations of a woman's specialist on this subject are not of any particular value but this objection is invalid, since a woman, whether she is happy or unhappy, is really only a reflection of her husband's conduct.

If a marriage is to be happy, it is necessary not only that the wife should successfully play the parts of mistress and friend, but also that the husband should in his turn realise his obligations to the wife. The irresponsibility and freedom from restraint which he enjoyed as a bachelor *must* be curtailed, and he must understand how to accommodate himself to the views, wishes, and sensibilities, of his wife. He must not insist obstinately on complete self-control. What is colloquially called 'rubbing off the edges' consists in yielding or forgoing many of one's own desires, in deference to the wishes of the other party. Just as it is the woman's duty always to appear bright and attractive, so the man must always remain as fond, attentive, and considerate, as he was during courtship. So far from growing indifferent, he should show more and more attention to his wife out of gratitude for her love. The attentiveness of a husband is the sure index to his devotion; indifference shows the waning of love. But alas, what will the wife not interpret as indifference? Love is full of misunderstandings. To take a simple example: the husband, coming home after the day's work, may not be able at once to cast off all his worries; or the scientific worker may remain absorbed in his researches even at home. Both of these types are only too readily credited with indifference and lack of love. Yet they really love their wives; it is for them that they work without ceasing. But the misunderstanding is merited, because the man should cast off the cares and worries of his daily life at home. He should think only of his wife when he is with her. But he can do this only if he has in her a friend, who understands all his worries. Only then will the bonds of love and *friendship* bind the

two more and more closely. But the husband must be a friend too. He must show an understanding of her worries, no matter how trifling they may appear to him. He may have to simulate interest in order not to appear indifferent; but the wife will be satisfied with this. Again the old motto applies: *Mundus vult decipi; ergo decipiatur.* Here the woman is the dupe, but the deception is so harmless that she submits to it willingly.

These few precepts for husband and wife must of course be taken only relatively. The diversity of character, the circumstances both before and after the marriage, and especially the violent changes in the early months of married life, are such serious matters that it will require all the good will of both to smooth out the mutual differences, if they are to weather the rocks on which so many marriages have been wrecked. Only mutual trust, mutual respect, and mutual love, can steer them past these dangers. If from the very beginning the marriage was lacking in mutual trust, then disaster is almost certain. We see examples of this every day, when two persons of different religious faith marry. Though the gap is apparently bridged by love, they fall victims to the religious conflict. Here we have, not so much the difference of character, as a lack of mutual confidence, which is engendered by that inculcated distrust of people of other nationalities or religious faiths. Religious and national prejudices are always apt to blaze out on the slightest provocation. It is for this reason that many religions have wisely required that, at least on paper, the faith of the two parties should be the same. But the hopes based on this compromise have not been fulfilled, nor will they be, so long as religious and national hatred are actually preached. It is true that there have been cases where even differences of this sort have been successfully bridged, but only where very great love and unusual common sense existed on both sides.

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND RELIGION
DIVORCE AND FREE-LOVE

It is not only civilised peoples who have recognised the unwisdom of marriage between persons of different race or religion, and have sought to prevent them by legislation. The customs of many primitive peoples give evidence that they too recognised the dangers, for their marriage laws also forbid such unions. As against this, we have the naïve belief that nothing but happiness and good can result from the union of blood relations, or at least, tribal relations. Thus we have the practices of *epigamy*, *exogamy*, and *endogamy*, of each of which we shall give an example.

Epigamy is illustrated by the custom of the Hebrews, who forbade marriage with a step-mother, step-daughter, daughter-in-law, daughter of a step-son, daughter of a step-daughter, brother's wife, or wife of a paternal uncle. But if the deceased brother had produced no son by his wife, then marriage with the widow was not only allowed, but positively required, both by religious and civil law. (We have already referred to the story of Onan the son of Judah.)

Exogamy means the prohibition of marriage within the tribe or totem group or family, so that men of one tribe can only marry with women of another tribe. This is interpreted in a still more exaggerated sense in India, where a Brahman cannot marry a woman, even though she was born miles away from his birthplace, if she has the same tribal name. A Chinese cannot marry a woman who has the same surname as himself.

Endogamy means the restriction of marriage within the family or tribe. It is based on the (scientifically quite unsound) theory of attaining purity of race and blood. But it may lead to degeneration, as we can see by the results of inbreeding in certain Royal families to-day. These marriages are endogamous in the strictest sense of the word, and result in cretinism. Refreshment of a race can only be achieved by a mixture of blood. Unless this is supplied, then *in-breeding*, as Darwin called it, leads in the course of generations to degeneracy. This indisputable scientific fact is probably the basis of the rules forbidding the marriage of blood relations.

In the eighteenth century, prejudiced and fanatical scientists demanded that marriages should be forbidden, not only between blood relations, but also between members of different religious faiths. This question is too important to be passed over. From the point of view of biology, man is primarily the embodiment of the character-

istics of a definite zoological species – *homo sapiens.* A religious belief is an acquired character derived from the parents or the environment; it is quite artificial. Such an acquired character must surely be regarded as essentially different from the attributes which are inherited in the germ-cell. It is true that this acquired character may change, as the result of education, into something intimately characteristic of the individual, but this cannot take place without the assistance of the reason and will, and then not until a certain age. Religion must therefore be regarded as essentially different from the inherited characters which are present in the germ-cell. This difference becomes obvious when one reflects that a person may change his religion just as arbitrarily as he may change his views on any other question. If only the conflicts between different races and religions were to disappear, then all opposition to marriages based on differences of religion would disappear too.

Other aspects of the connection between religion and marriage call for deeper consideration, since from the earliest times religion has played a dominant part in the sexual relations of human beings.

We must first try to understand how men came to submit to outside authority in this matter. The earliest form of sexual relation was that of absolute promiscuity, a sheer satisfaction of animal impulse which gave no heed to moral rules or even to the responsibilities arising from the birth of children. It is only much later, in the matriarchate, that the first trace of a moral law is found; this in turn was replaced by the patriarchate whereby the father, as the founder and protector of the family, became its head. These two forms of 'right' rested on custom, but must have been supported by a belief in some higher power. According to the ideas of primitive peoples, both past and present, there is a particular god and an evil spirit for every activity of life. Thus there were gods of marriage. It was in this manner that the influence of religion on marriage began.

Every religion has laws dealing with marriage; and, as civilisation developed, the influence of religion in this sphere became more and more important. There were two important motives; one was to raise the general standard of morality, and the other was to sanctify marriage itself. In spite of its generally stern attitude, the Mosaic code permitted divorce. Some religions were more lenient, others less. The climax was reached in the rules of the Roman Catholic Church. It would take too long to discuss the marriage laws of all religions, and I must confine myself to a discussion of the laws which apply to marriage in our own civilisation.

Judaism still recognises that feelings may change, and it therefore

permits divorce and re-marriage, more than once if necessary. This freedom may sometimes be abused, but definite rules are provided for the care of the children of such successive marriages in accordance with patriarchal ideas. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, treats marriage as a sacrament and demands 'indissolubility' and 'unchanging fidelity.' The marriage can therefore only be dissolved by the death of one of the parties.

This demand in itself is unreasonable. Judaism takes account of the mutability of human feelings, and frees people when the chains of matrimony become fetters; but the Catholic Church refuses to recognise any such change of feeling. The bonds of matrimony become a chain as heavy and galling as iron, in which two people must languish for the term of their natural lives. This demand may have been well adapted to the time of its origin, when the extremely low moral condition of the people called for drastic measures; but it cannot be accepted as justifiable to-day. The problem has not only come to light during the last few decades; on the contrary, it has agitated humanity for many centuries. It remains a problem because the Catholic Church has elected obstinately to maintain its stand in spite of the injury to human nature involved. No satisfactory solution has yet been found. The literature dealing with the difficulty goes back to the Middle Ages, when Luther instituted the Protestant religion, and permitted divorce and re-marriage. Although much has been written about this problem, and thinkers and statesmen have attempted its solution, it remains unsolved. Nothing can shake the unyielding rigidity of the Catholic Church. In the Epilogue to the *Kreutzer Sonata*, Tolstoy discusses the indissoluble marriage of the Catholic Church and the violence to human feelings which it entails, and comes to the conclusion that 'there is no such thing as a Christian marriage.'

'Christ gave no definitions of life. He did not establish any institutions; he did not establish marriage. But people who do not understand the peculiarities of Christ's teachings, who are accustomed to external tenets and who wish to feel themselves in the right, as does the Pharisee, contrary to the whole spirit of Christ's teaching, have, out of the letter, made an external teaching of rules, and have substituted this teaching for Christ's true teaching of the ideal. The Church teachings which call themselves Christian have, in all manifestations of life, substituted for Christ's teaching and the ideal, the external injunctions and rules which are contrary to the spirit of that teaching. This has been done in reference to government, courts, army, churches, and divine service.

'Disregarding the fact that Christ nowhere established marriage –

on the contrary whenever he mentioned an external rule it was to oppose it ("Forsake thy wife and follow me"), the Church teachings, which call themselves Christian, have established marriage as a Christian institution. That is, they have established external observances which make sexual love sinless and entirely lawful for a Christian. . . .

'Since in true Christian teaching there are no foundations for the institution of marriage, the result has been that people of our world have departed from one shore without landing at the other. That is to say, they do not believe, in reality, in the Church definition of marriage, feeling that the institution has no foundation in the Christian teaching, and at the same time, not seeing before them Christ's ideal, which is concealed by Church doctrine, – the striving after complete chastity – they are left without any guidance in relation to marriage. From this comes the seemingly strange phenomenon that with the Jews, Mohammedans, Thibetans, and others who profess religious teachings of a much lower order than those of Christianity, but who possess precise external injunctions in regard to marriage, the family principle and conjugal fidelity are incomparably more firmly rooted than with the so-called Christians.

'They have definite concubinage, polygamy, and polyandry, limited by certain restrictions. But with us, there is complete looseness – there is concubinage and polygamy and polyandry, not subject to any limitations, and concealed under the cloak of supposed monogamy.

'Only, because over a small fraction of the persons united, the clergy perform a certain ceremony called "Church Marriage," people of our world hypocritically imagine that they are living in matrimony. There cannot be, and there never has been, such a thing as Christian marriage, just as there has never been, and cannot be, such a thing as Christian divine service, nor Christian teachers or priests, nor Christian property, army, law-courts or state.

'As the early Christians always understood it, the Christian ideal is love of God and one's neighbour, self-renunciation in order to serve God and one's neighbour. Carnal love and marriage mean serving oneself, and therefore are, in any case, a hindrance to the service of God and men, and consequently, from the Christian point of view, a fall, a sin.

'Entering into marriage cannot co-operate with the service of God and men, even in the case when those who enter it do have in view the continuation of the human race. Rather than enter into marriage in order to procreate children, it would be much better for such people to do something to save the lives of the thousands of children

who are perishing around us, through want of material, not to say spiritual, food.'[1]

I may be reproached for quoting such heretical views, but I can meet this by asserting that, of all the many controversial utterances on this subject, these are certainly the mildest and least offensive. They merely deny the possibility of Christian marriage from the point of view of Christianity; how much more extreme are those books which deny it on the grounds of humanity?

If a marriage is to be successful, it is necessary not only that it should be based on mutual attraction and complete confidence; it is also essential that the religious and civil laws, as well as those imposed by the parties on themselves, should allow the greatest possible degree of personal freedom. Every rational and unbiased observer must admit this. Now from the very outset such freedom is forbidden by the Catholic Church. Few honourable people would be prepared to submit to such compulsion, which turns a voluntary union into a compulsory status. It is only natural that, in such an atmosphere of compulsion, the flowers of love must wither and all spontaneity disappear. Love must spring from inner necessity; it cannot be compelled! But the Catholic Church still requires this duty to be fulfilled, even when both parties are perfectly well aware that it involves nothing but suffering, when hatred has taken the place of love. The slavery imposed on humanity by the compulsion-marriage of the Catholic Church lasts till death. It is a sentence of imprisonment for life, imposed as a penalty for their choice of each other, imposed on them because they *believed* that they could be happy together.

But, not satisfied with this requirement, the Catholic Church goes further, and imposes a still further penalty on these two unfortunate 'life prisoners,' since it requires 'unbroken conjugal fidelity.' We may crush the natural disposition of human beings for a time, but in the long run it will break through all fetters. It is only a question of time; though it depends also on the temperament of the individual.

In order to get an idea of the blessings of the holy sacrament of marriage, let us take a concrete example. Two young persons, at the most active period of their sexual life, believe that they have found in each other an ideal mate. Believing that they really love each other, they marry according to the rites of the Catholic Church. In a short time, the flames of sexual desire subside, and they begin to notice each other's shortcomings. These become more and more irksome, until finally they realise that they have been deceived in one another. One of them meets somebody else who, now, with greater experience,

[1] Translators' Note.—Translation of Tolstoy from the Collected Edition published by Dent.

he or she recognises as the ideal. The Catholic Church forbids any love-relation with this third party. It allows a 'separation,' but decrees that, in spite of this, the marriage still stands, even though the two parties to it may by now have come to hate each other. They were not free when married; they are not free now they are 'separated.' Still more serious penalties threaten them if they confess a breach of their marriage-vows. The State too imposes penalties for 'bigamy' even though in such a case there has for a long time been no 'monogamy'! What a welter of contradictions is here! What absurdity! What slavery imposed on humanity!

This injustice is really criminal, for it drives even the most noble characters to deceit and lies. The marriage which was celebrated before God and man, becomes a compulsory 'living together' of two persons, each of whom goes his or her separate way. This means the end of morality and honesty; it means the encouragement of all the most ignoble feelings, so that contempt and hatred grow up for the person to whom one is bound for life by the holy matrimony of the Holy Church.

I refrain from quoting further examples of the unwisdom of the Catholic marriage laws, but I must point out the inevitable consequence of them. The ideal aimed at – unbroken lifelong fidelity – is rare; it is very seldom that two persons remain true to each other for the whole of their lives. This ideal conception of marriage is built on the ideal of 'eternal' love. How rare this 'eternal' love is we have already pointed out.

The consequences are, therefore, quite other than those contemplated by the Catholic Church. The eternal and indissoluble union is maintained so far as the world is concerned, but it by no means prevents the satisfaction of love in other directions. An irregular relationship is formed, which is essentially a marriage, but does not enjoy the countenance of either Church or State. Thus we have concubinage, usually defined as more or less free extra-marital union, on the basis of love, sexual impulse, or convenience.

History shows that concubinage as a recognised institution dates back to extreme antiquity. In ancient Greece and Rome we find that, in addition to the chief wife, there were a number of concubines, who were exclusively attached to one man. We find records among the ancient Teutons also of concubines living peaceably in association with the chief wife, and fully recognised and respected by the other members of the tribe. This legally recognised concubinage disappeared with the rise of Christianity. It was really a form of polygamy, and is essentially different from what we call concubinage today. To-day we mean, by concubinage, a deliberate extra-marital

relation, which differs from other forms of extra-marital relations such as the *liaison* in that the man and woman share the same household, more or less permanently, and the woman is at the head of the household just as if she were legally married to the man. Concubinage is, therefore, a marriage in the truest sense of the term, although it is not recognised by the Church or society. I wish particularly to draw attention to the last word. If two persons are attracted to one another and are firmly convinced of their mutual affection, and have the courage and energy to form such a union, when prevented by an existing marriage from enjoying the blessing of the Church, they are also unjustly denied the respect of *society* which is their due. Every one is entitled to despise them, for concubinage is regarded as an irregular relation, on which society chooses to frown.

The extent to which concubinage is regarded as illegitimate varies in different legal systems. In Germany there are still laws in force which impose penalties on a landlord for affording shelter to such a couple. Such laws, and the odium which attaches to the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child, combine to discredit concubinage. But the injustice of this will be clear, if the reader asks himself what he would do under similar circumstances. In cases of concubinage 'holy matrimony' is the real sham, but it is the concubinage which is regarded as a sham by the 'good moral world' – simply because it lacks the blessing of the Church.

The wife who has been 'betrayed' by her husband avails herself of the stringent rules of the Catholic Church, in order to give vent to her rage and jealousy. The separation is really desired on both sides and would be a blessing; but the wife refuses it so that the man shall be deprived of his 'satisfaction.' This springs not only from a desire to punish the man, but also from jealousy of the new woman, who will *never* be able to possess the husband openly. In nine cases out of ten we may assert that concubinage is due to one of the parties refusing a divorce to the other.

In recent times, strenuous efforts have been made to war against this system of lies and deceit involved in the rigid marriage laws of the Catholic Church, but the clergy pay no attention to the evil consequences of their harsh system. Could we have, indeed, a better example of consequences than the almost proverbial 'priest and his housekeeper.' *She* runs his house for him; she looks after his physical and mental welfare; *he* looks after her spiritual welfare by divine discourse, and her physical welfare – by treating her kindly! All this goes on in spite of the rule of celibacy of the clergy and the ban upon concubinage.

The feminists have naturally taken up this question. They are

primarily concerned with the unfairness to women which is involved, but in spite of this false premise, their demands are fully justified. They demand that woman should be independent economically and socially, and they aim at equality in matters of love through economic equality. 'In love a woman is as free as a man and as unfettered in her choice. She emancipates herself, or is emancipated, and enters the bonds of matrimony on no other grounds than her own inclination. This bond is a private contract, without the intervention of any functionary, just as it was up to the end of the Middle Ages. Socialism is therefore not creating something entirely new, but is merely ennobling and raising to a higher status what was the general rule in primitive society, before the domination of private property began. The human race should be as free in respect of the fulfilment of its strongest natural instinct as it is in respect of any other natural impulse. The satisfaction of the sexual impulse is a personal matter for each individual to decide for himself; nobody has the right to judge or interfere with others in this matter. Intelligence, culture, and independence, qualities which, thanks to better education and better social relations, will, in the society of the future, be universal, will guide the choice. *But if incompatibility, disappointment, or dislike develops, then morality demands that the unnatural and therefore immoral union should be dissolved.* When men and women are equal, the conditions which have condemned a great number of women to celibacy or prostitution will disappear. Men will no longer be able to maintain disproportionate advantages for themselves. Further, Socialism aims at removing the many restrictions which to-day either interfere with married life or make it altogether impossible.' . . . In these words, August Bebel in his *Woman and Socialism* defines his attitude. I commend them even to anti-Socialists as much more enlightened and intelligent than the antiquated, unjust laws of the Catholic Church, which deny all freedom in both thought and conduct to the human race.

'The problem of free-love is the problem of the hour. On its solution depend the future of civilisation and the termination of the disgraceful conditions prevailing in the love life at the present day, which are a legacy of the indissoluble marriage. We share this conviction with many who are certainly not the worst minds of the age.' With these words Ivan Bloch begins his voluminous treatise on free-love, and his view is that of every reasonable and unprejudiced scientist.

The whole of humanity must come to accept this view. Free-love, in this context, means an ideal condition, a marriage which simply dispenses with 'holy water or official ink.' It does not mean moral

laxity. It does not mean that 'free-love' which has become a byword, giving human beings the right to promiscuous sexual intercourse without any moral restraint. Unfortunately this is still the only way in which most people can interpret the words 'free-love.' But this is not free-love in the sense in which Bloch uses the term; this is 'wild love.' It is comparable to prostitution, since it represents mere sexuality without any deep emotional feeling. But the free-love which is preached as the ideal of humanity is simply the free union envisaged by Bebel, the union of two human beings who are free in all respects. This is only possible when people have a highly developed sense of responsibility towards one another, towards society, and above all towards the children which may result from such a union. It is unthinkable until there is a change in the law which denies the illegitimate child and the unmarried mother a proper social status. Then it would not be so easy for the 'polygamous male' to satisfy his sex instinct where and when he likes and avoid all further responsibility to an illegitimate child, simply by paying a sum of money. Above all, this feeling of responsibility towards the child must be developed. Then free-love would be a real marriage, differing from the Catholic marriage in that either party could put an end to it at will. Such temporary marriages are found among some primitive peoples and have received the approval of such thinkers as Goethe, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche. That the recognition of unions of this sort would do away with much hypocrisy and deceit is clear; but it is equally obvious that it would also go far towards considerably diminishing one of the greatest evils of civilisation – prostitution. It would also mean a complete revaluation of marriage. It is possible that some people would still desire to remain bound to one another for life; perhaps such a desire would awaken as the result of mutual experience in such a free union. But, in any case, the recognition of this form of sex union would mean that marriage would be entered into only out of love, and not, as so frequently to-day, from material motives. Some men say that humanity is not yet capable of dispensing with legal bonds. Is it not possible that these opponents of free-love are themselves incapable of judging the capabilities of humanity?

Before leaving the important topic of free-love, I should like to refer to one of the most eminent women writers of the age, who has earned the respect of all thinkers by her treatment of this question. I refer to Ellen Key. We can best define our own standpoint by quoting her remarks on the 'forms of marriage.'[1]

'It is thus only a question of time when the respect of society for a

[1] Translators' Note. – We have used the version of Chater, *Love and Marriage*, 1911 (Putnams).

sexual union will not depend on the form of cohabitation that makes a human couple become parents, but only on the value of the children they create as new links in the chain of the generations. Men and women will then dedicate to their mental and bodily fitness the same religious earnestness that Christians now devote to the salvation of their souls. Instead of divine codes of morality of the sexual relations, the desire and responsibility for the enhancement of the race will be the support of morals. But the knowledge of the parents that the meaning of life is, in their own lives, that they do not exist solely for the sake of their children, may liberate them from the other duties of conscience, which at present bind them in respect of the children, above all, that of keeping up a union in which they both perish. The home may then, more than at present, be synonymous with the mother, which, far from excluding the father, contains the germ of a newer and higher "right of the family." . . . A great and healthy will-to-live is what our age needs, in the matter of erotic emotions and claims. It is here that there is a menace of real danger from the woman's side; and it is, amongst other things, to avert these dangers that new forms of marriage must be created. A human material increasing in value and capacity for development – that is what the earth will produce. The chances of obtaining this may be decreased under fixed, but favoured under freer, forms of sexual life. It is not only because the present day demands more freedom that these claims are full of promise. They are only so because the claims are coming nearer and nearer to the kernel of the question; the certainty that love is the most perfect condition for the life enhancement of the race and of the individual.'

We have now dealt sufficiently with the position of woman in marriage and in the so-called irregular unions. We have still to describe the relations of husband and wife where the marriage has lasted happily for many years. It is obvious that children make a great difference to a sexual union. The child represents the link between man and wife, a living witness to their love, a symbol of the rejuvenation and immortality of the human race. But the child came into existence as the result of the sexual act and so we are led back to sex as the basis of a happy marriage. The question then naturally occurs, whether every marriage must not be wrecked when sexual attraction has disappeared. But this question is unjustified, if we remember our definition of love and our insistence that a great unchanging feeling of oneness was the real foundation of a successful marriage.

Many philosophers have asserted that marriage must have a dampening effect on love. We have already quoted Balzac, who saw in habit the great bugbear of marriage. It must be admitted that after

the first transports of youth, after the first years of marriage which are devoted almost entirely to passion, there is usually a certain calm. I use the word *calm* and deliberately avoid the expression *cooling-off*, for in calm lies the true conception of marriage as friendship and love combined. Where once the flames of passion raged, there is now tender solicitude for each other. In the beginning, passion came first and friendship second, now the order is reversed. The decline of sexual desire does not necessarily mean a decline in love. It merely makes the love more peaceful and it is gradually transformed into the most beautiful sort of friendship. And thus the happiness of married life may remain long after sexual attraction has disappeared.

All this applies only to marriages in which real love was the basis, not to those marriages which, from the very beginning, were only shams, – marriages of convenience or common sense, which contained no love, but at best a sort of friendship. This sort of friendship is really only mutual compassion and an apology for the lack of real love.

I refuse to respect these propitiatory friendships of married people, least of all when there are children. For children should be begotten in love, not friendship. I agree with von Gleichen-Russwurms, when he writes in his psychological study *Friendship*: 'Attempts to make a happy friendship out of an unhappy marriage are frequent, but seldom successful. At best there may be a pitiful friendship, a poor weak sort of love, when sexual desire is quite dead. But starvation of the senses has caused too much suffering to allow of any spiritual harmony. The love-call of the stag in rut is frequently answered by the hunter's rifle, and this is symbolic. Death and love are closely connected. Is not love itself a longing to die away, to be dissolved, to forget, to rest? And the achievement of love is really a beautiful death, a fading away of the individual in order to generate new life.'

But people still go on believing in the possibility of friendship taking the place of love. Who does not know of cases in which both parties, without any spark of sexual love, live together as 'good friends' out of consideration for their children and public opinion, although in reality they are bitter enemies.

But we must not be enticed into a discussion of the lies and hypocrisy of marriage. Our task is to describe woman as she is or as she ought to be in marriage. Confining our attention to the happy marriage, we next come to the situation of the woman when the husband and father of her children dies and she is left a widow. Classical literature contains many references to the position of the widow. She was despised if her husband died an ignominous death, but honoured if he died as a hero. Thus the fear of losing her husband

was always entwined with the hope that he would die a hero's death. The situation is illustrated in many parts of Homer, especially in the well-known story of Hector and Andromache.

The position of the widow varies with the period, race, civilisation, and education, as well as with the moral and religious ideas which prevail. Herodotus tells us that among the Thracians, who were polygamous, there was a custom that, when a man died, the favourite wife was killed by her relatives at the graveside and buried with him. This custom may appear to us to be cruel, inhuman, and incomprehensible, but it is quite mild when compared with the *suttee*, which is such a well-known feature of the civilisation of India. Such false and exaggerated ideas prevail among the general public on this subject, that I feel obliged to quote an account of it from an excellent treatise on the customs of India – Schlagintweit's *Indien in Wort und Bild*: 'The horrible custom of widows being burnt with their deceased husband did not exist in ancient India; in the *Rig Vedas* there is an exhortation to the widow to remain at the head of the household after the death of the husband. The *Puranas*, the oldest of which does not date before the sixth century A.D., declare that only that widow is virtuous who mounts the pyre which is prepared for the body of her husband; only such a one is sure of Paradise. Widows who survive their bereavement, especially if they remarry, are regarded as unworthy to have a place beside their husband in the next world; they will be condemned to live on fruits and berries and are regarded as a disgrace to their family. This shameful business has been only slightly affected by the modern societies for the advocacy of re-marriage; even to-day a widow very rarely remarries. Thus, in contrast to Europe, we quite commonly find widows of 17 to 20 years of age. Even high-caste widows, lacking all other means of livelihood, become mistresses of the members of the religious orders, or even prostitutes. Thus, while among us illegitimate births usually take place among unmarried girls, in India they occur as a rule among widows. For this reason the criminal code punishes infanticide with imprisonment for 10 years.

'The British Government of India did not conceal their horror at this practice. Ram Mohuss Roy came over to their side and in 1819 wrote against the suttee in his paper. In 1820, the orthodox founded a paper to defend this, as well as other traditional customs, but the victory remained with Ram Mohuss Roy. On the 4th December, 1829, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General, passed a law entitled "A regulation for declaring the practice of Sâti abolished," which forbade the burning of widows for all time. However, unexpected difficulties were encountered in carrying out this law; women,

instigated by the Brahmins, clamoured so loudly to be burned with their husbands, that official permission was sometimes given. It was feared that refusal would lead to a rebellion. The practice of the relatives' publishing a guarantee that they would not insist on the immolation of their women, gradually led to a cessation of the custom in British India. But in 1860, after the Mutiny, suttees were carried out quite openly in Oudh, and only the condemnation for murder of those responsible, put an end to it. A suttee was carried out in Lucknow as late as 1875, but the law condemned all participants (numbering 30) to death for murder. No further cases have since occurred in British India, but in the Native States the custom has by no means been suppressed. . . .

'If the suttee is carried out in public it is a festival occasion which attracts spectators from far and near. Dressed in her festival bridal clothes, supported by her nearest relatives, surrounded by Brahmins and religious fanatics, the unfortunate creature is led to the stake to the accompaniment of music. The path from her home to the place of execution is strewn with betel leaves, palms, and flowers. The woman herself distributes copper coins to the bystanders if her strength will permit; but usually she is brought to the stake in a state of stupor. She is drugged, not with alcohol, but with narcotics like *Bhang* – a preparation of Indian hemp. In uncanny silence the crowd surrounds the pyre, around which the widow slowly walks three times. She then mounts the place of death, supported and accompanied by Brahmins. In a few steps she reaches the body of her husband and then lies at his feet. Sometimes his head is placed in her lap. She is then bound with a cord to a wooden pile in the centre of the pyre. Some pour oil on the faggots; others hasten with torches to set it alight. When, at the approach of death, even the strongest spirit loses her resolution, the Brahmins begin to intone prayers and chant hymns. The religious fanatics begin to wail; trumpets sound on all sides accompanied by the rattle of drums. This noise is for the purpose of drowning the shrieks of agony, and causes the last words to be unheard. They are usually curses against her relations, and are regarded as having a prophetic value. When the flames, leaping up on all sides, begin to lick the feet of the unfortunate creature and catch her clothes, it sometimes happens that the stupefied woman suddenly becomes sober in a moment. She realises her position and a piercing shriek is heard above the din. With almost superhuman strength she breaks her bonds and, with a bold leap, attempts to jump clear of the surrounding flames. The inhuman Brahmins pursue her and thrust her back.

'Any attempt by the widow to escape her horrible fate is regarded

by the Brahmins and relations as a bad omen; it is interpreted as meaning that the soul of the deceased cannot find peace after his death. In order to circumvent any such resistance, sometimes, when the widow has mounted the pyre, large bamboo rods are laid over her shoulders by means of which she may be held down. This was done at Khatmandhu, the capital of the Himalayan State, Nepal, just before my brother Hermann arrived upon the scene. The crowd scattered in silence while the pyre still glowed faintly. The incineration of the body is always very incomplete; when the pyre has burnt out the remains are collected and buried.' . . .

The explanation of this custom is to be found in religious fanaticism. But in addition, the feeling of the unity between husband and wife may also well have been an important factor.

Although we are superior to such religious fanaticism, none the less, even amongst ourselves, the idea of an inner union between man and wife outlasting death has been occasionally maintained. It is not infrequent for a woman to commit suicide when her husband dies. We cannot approve of this excessive emotion under any circumstances, but it amounts to a crime if there are children. For it is to them and their upbringing that the widow should devote herself. After the death of the husband she should devote her life to the children, who are made in his image. This demand, which is quite natural from the ethical point of view, is not in practice regarded as binding, especially if the woman is left a widow at a comparatively early age. For in this case the powerful sexual impulse is an important element in the situation. In the majority of cases the young widow mourns for a time, and swears again and again that with her husband's death her own life is at an end. She swears that it is only out of consideration for her children that she does not emulate the Hindu widow and commit suicide. But soon begins a conflict between the two very powerful forces; on the one side the memories consecrated to her husband; on the other, the ever more clamant demands of the awakened sex instinct, which may be dammed up for a time, but cannot be completely repressed. 'The sexual appetite being the same, the former force may conquer in a deeply ethical or sentimental, religious type; but in a lower, more usual, and on the whole, more sensible type, the sexual complex usually conquers.' (Forel.) From what we have seen of the sexual life of woman, we should only expect that, in most cases, sex should conquer. The ostensibly highly moral woman forgets her morality, forgets her duty to the children, and soon, in the arms of another, forgets even the embraces of the once-loved husband whose memory is now very

faint. Thus we have the 'merry widow' who again begins to enjoy her life, her youth, and her sex.

The widow is still more 'merry,' if her first marriage, so far from being a heaven of delights, has been a hell of torment and discord.

These are the easy-going women, but there are many exceptions who live only for their children and the memory of the deceased husband; women who have finished with their own life and all further enjoyment and pleasure. Although from the ethical point of view we must admire this type, we must nevertheless recognise the first type as more normal from the medical point of view. For it frequently happens that sexual repression, after years of active sexual life, has a very bad effect on the woman's health. Many incurable cases of hysteria and melancholia arise among widows as the result of such repression.

We next turn to the consideration of the husband who is left a widower. The man, by nature 'polygamous,' seldom allows the conflict to arise in him which we saw in the widow. He very soons finds a worthy, or perhaps unworthy, substitute for the dear departed. At least it appears so to the world. But we do not know whether he merely satisfies his sex impulse, and emotionally still remains true to the memory of the dead wife, or whether he forgets her completely and finds a new object for both his love and his sexuality.

We have now said enough about the joys and woes of marriage. We have tried to describe the facts as they really are, stripped of all the sentimental glamour which is usually wrapped around them. We have tried to tell the simple truth. We must now point out that, in addition to the two corner-stones of a happy marriage already discussed, there must be a third, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. This is the *absolute freedom* of both parties in thought and action. If the other two ideal factors are present, this freedom will not lead to either party doing anything unacceptable to the other. Freedom may at first result in the pursuit of divergent paths, but these will soon converge in the common wish for a child. This should be decided, not by the wife alone, but by the husband as well. This is the real aim of marriage, and the proper conception of the purpose of every sexual union. This freedom is *real* freedom, and not that freedom which is written on the banners of the feminist movement, the cry of 'Freedom from Man.' We have abundant proofs of the terrible consequences of this sort of freedom, both for humanity in general and for women in particular. I agree absolutely with Rohleder when he writes in his *Geschlechtstrieb und Geschlechtsleben des Menschen*: 'The grave dangers to women's sexual life, which

are involved in the modern feminist movement, can be seen already in the United States of America. There, everything possible has been done (in the words of a clever journalist) "to make the doll into an independent creature," to make the helpless capable of earning their own living. The success of the movement has been striking. The American woman has gained admittance to every occupation; she is seen in all the fields which were formerly reserved for men; she is doctor, lawyer, merchant, professor. Her boudoir has become a counting-house, and often has a special telephone connection with the Stock Exchange. She has all the legal rights that men have. In many States she has a vote and may be elected to office. She is in every way emancipated from her former dependence on man, and can proclaim aloud to Heaven "I am free, independent, emancipated; I am myself." . . . And now that everything has been done to make the woman into a man, she acts, in matters of love, as though she were no longer a woman. The American woman will no longer marry; perhaps she cannot. She has so long and so eagerly given herself up to male occupations, that her inner feminine nature has been changed and has become neutral, with no sexual desire at all. At all events, the marriage-rate among these modern American emancipated women has decreased shockingly, and the birth-rate has fallen so low that depopulation threatens the native-born (i.e. the original Anglo-Saxon) stocks. Is it necessary, after perceiving such facts, to point out how false is the interpretation of the word freedom? "Freedom from man" becomes "Freedom from womanliness," for it kills the Woman in woman. And this should never be! . . .'

CHAPTER IV

WOMAN AND MAN

WEININGER, whose *Sex and Character*[1] has attracted great attention during the last two decades, attempted to make clear the distinction between the specifically male and specifically female characters, so that, instead of speaking of man and woman, he speaks of masculine and feminine, which he designates by M and W respectively. Every human being is, according to his view, compounded of these two elements, and according to the preponderance of one or the other, so will masculine or feminine characteristics appear in the individual. In his almost morbid passion to attribute only evil to woman, he finds his ideal in those who have a maximum of M, and tries to prove his point on psychological as well as sexual grounds.

'The mental qualities of a woman are due to her share of M. It is the M in woman which leads her to desire emancipation. W is nothing but sexuality; M is sexual and something more. The sexual type W may take one of two directions – that of the *courtesan* or that of the *mother*. The pure courtesan type concentrates entirely on the man; the pure mother type, entirely on the child. In love, the man projects his ideal on to the woman, but in woman the emotions aroused by love are conflicting. For the mother, coitus is only a means to an end; for the courtesan, coitus is an end in itself. In love a man projects on to the partner the ideal which he cannot find in himself; and this and nothing else is what we mean when we say that a man loves a woman. But with the woman it is different. The need for sexual intercourse is the most intense need she knows; indeed, the desire for sexual intercourse fills her mind to the exclusion of everything else. *Coitus marks the deepest degradation, and love the highest elevation, of woman. That women desire coitus rather than love, is a sign that they wish to be degraded and not ennobled. The greatest opponent of the emancipation of woman is woman herself.*'

It is not our purpose to subject these theories to a complete critical analysis; even though they may appear to be valid in particular cases, it is not right to identify the whole female sex with such exceptional cases. But we recognise the value of the terminology M and W, because as a matter of fact each of these elements is to be found in *every man and every woman* without exception. It may well be these factors which makes the differences between men and women so manifest. We have already noted many of these important differences, in body, in mind, in sex, in eroticism. But it is necessary to refer now in more detail to a very important difference between

[1] English Translation. Published by Heinemann.

man and woman, which is to be seen especially in the domain of sex.

'In love, woman plays the passive, man the active rôle.' We frequently hear this statement, often by the 'poor suffering woman,' who wishes to be freed from man and to protest against his privileged position in the scheme of things. Although this idea enjoys great popularity, it is not really true. When discussing 'courtship,' I pointed out that the apparent passivity of women really conceals a great deal of activity. The laws of nature have determined that, in love, the male must play the stronger, aggressive, conquering part, while woman plays the waiting, passive, yielding part. A cursory glance at the animal kingdom shows us that the male is always endowed with external characters which he instinctively turns to profit in the love conflict, and which give him a great advantage over the female in external appearance. It is only necessary to refer for examples to the facts already given in Book IV, such as coloration in animals and song in birds. This dimorphism affects the whole nature of the animal, so that the behaviour of males differs from that of females. In some species of animals the dimorphism is not very marked, due to there being very little difference in the germ-cells of the respective sexes. It is the germ-cells which cause dimorphism; testicles or ovaries are responsible for male or female characteristics respectively. This fact is easily proved by the phenomena of castration; the removal of the sex-glands – testicles or ovaries – will cause all typical sexual characters, both mental and psychical – technically called *secondary sexual characters* – to disappear. A male, if castrated in early life, will fail to develop the typical male characters; and, despite its external genital organs (which are of course not affected by castration) will give the general impression of a female – a feminised male, so to speak. This change is difficult to describe in a word, but is due to the fact that, using Weininger's terminology, the removal of M has occasioned a relative over-development of W. Even the physical results of such experiments are extremely interesting, for which I refer the reader to the special literature of the subject.[1] But even more remarkable are the changes in the 'personality' of the animal, especially as shown in the sexual life. A typical, normal male may be so feminised that it takes over the care of the eggs and hatches the young.

I have made this digression into biology, because it enables us to appreciate better the influence of the sex-glands in the human race, and to realise how much man depends on his testicles and woman

[1] See *Rejuvenation*: *The Work of Steinach, Voronoff, and others*. Norman Haire. Published by Allen & Unwin, London, 1924.

on her ovaries. What Weininger calles M and W are nothing other than the results of the glandular make-up of the individual. This determines his character, and causes him to react to life in a specific way. Castration may also be performed on human beings, as is shown by the existence of eunuchs. In America, which is extremely advanced in social legislation, the suggestion has been made that violent habitual criminals of the male sex should, instead of being sent to prison, be castrated, and thus robbed of their fierce character and changed into docile feminine creatures.

If it is true, as we have asserted, that woman's life, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by sex, the explanation of this is to be found in the ovaries. And among the typical feminine characters which are caused by the ovaries is the fact that in matters of sex, the woman's conduct is essentially different to the man's.

It is sometimes asserted that the sexual impulse is stronger in men than in women, and that the more forceful character of the former is due to this. It is true that men practise less restraint in the satisfaction of their animal lusts, but this is due to the physiology of the testicles. The testicle is a glandular organ which, when functionally active, as it is after puberty, unceasingly produces seminal fluid containing the spermatozoa. The stimulus due to the accumulation of this fluid causes the organism to discharge it. The emptying of the testicles is the *ejaculation*, which marks the climax of sexual excitement in males. This occurs normally during coitus, but it may also take place as a 'wet dream' which is an automatic nocturnal emission during sleep, associated with erotic dreams. It is perfectly natural that men obey the impulse to discharge this excessive accumulation of semen, and the most natural manner of doing so is by coitus. Is it not perfectly natural that men, when suffering from this feeling of tension (termed *concupiscence*), do not wait for a genuine love-object, but seek the readiest means of freeing themselves from the discomfort? All the more so because this feeling renders the man impatient, nervous, unstable and distraught, and may even cause melancholia if satisfaction is too long delayed. There are two ways of relieving the tension; first, by masturbation, from which he is frequently withheld by moral considerations or disgust; second, by the unrestrained satisfaction of this purely physical impulse in the arms of the first available woman. This impulse is so strong that lack of satisfaction may lead to crime. But it is wrong to say that it *cannot* be repressed by a man of character. Self-respect is the strongest weapon against it. Summing up these observations, we may conclude that the greater intensity of the physical sex impulse in man, as well as the tendency to indiscrimi-

nate satisfaction of it, are both ultimately due to the physiological character of the testicles.

The female sex glands – the ovaries – produce the ova, which then migrate into the uterus and await fertilisation by the spermatozoon from the male. If the sperms do not arrive, the ovum is destroyed; it has been created in vain. Thus we see the primary manifestation of the 'active passivity' of woman in this patient waiting of the ovum. It is activity in the sense of waiting; passivity in the sense that she is unable herself to hasten the fertilisation, and therefore must wait patiently. When the ovum is fertilised, then 'active activity' begins. The fertilised ovum goes on growing in the uterus, until we come to climax of activity – birth. Now this 'active passivity,' which characterises the sex glands, is extended to the emotional and sexual life of the woman. The woman spends most of her time in waiting, in 'active passivity' for her own man, for the man who satisfies her. The chastity and modesty inculcated from earliest childhood conceal this 'active passivity' from the world, so that the woman may appear quite devoid of sex-feelings. The same factors are responsible for causing the woman, at the very height of passion, quite spontaneously to conceal all indication of her passionate feelings. A process *analogous* to ejaculation takes place in the woman at the moment of orgasm, but it must be regarded as essentially different. In the man ejaculation relieves the sexual tension, since it releases the accumulated semen; but in the woman, although it represents the climax or orgasm, it is only with it that voluptuous feelings of a continuous sort really begin. The explanation of this is probably, that now, for the first time, all obstructions are removed from the path of fertilisation; the way is open for the male semen; now is the time for 'active activity' on the part of the woman. This, then, is not the end of the process for her, but really the beginning! Now, since Nature has given erotic feelings to human beings only in order to make the act of generation pleasant and beautiful, it is natural that a woman should only wish to attain this climax of pleasure in the arms of the man whom, under favourable circumstances, she would like to be the father of her child; that is, of the man she loves. Thus we can explain the fact that woman, in contrast to the man, seeks primarily for love in the satisfaction of her sexual impulse, and that she scarcely ever yields to a man apart from love; if she does, it is usually for some other external motive, which stamps her surrender as prostitution.

Woman, then, seeks love before all else; she shows her own love by having sexual intercourse with a man. This is the most fundamental difference between man and woman; and from it we can

explain what is usually summed up in the general term 'the emotional life of woman.' The woman, like the man, desires the orgasm, but this is only secondary; primarily she desires love and all that love implies. It is not the sex act itself, it is not the stages of tumescence and detumescence, which occupy the mind of the woman, but the love which precedes these; all the signs of love from the gentlest of caresses to the most passionate kisses. With the orgasm, the man experiences complete relief, but the desire of the woman for proofs of his love is by no means at an end; there begins in her the 'after-sensation' as we might call it. She still desires to be kissed and embraced; and desires more strongly than ever to feel that her husband loves her. This means happiness for the woman, and, at the same time, gives the man the satisfaction of knowing that he has satisfied her and that she loves him. He too, now more than at any other time, wishes to feel that she loves him, because he knows that a woman only gives herself if she loves.

In this connection it is extremely interesting to note that those women who give themselves to men without love – prostitutes – simulate love towards the man. The street-walker may simulate such love ten times in one night, but only experiences real love in the arms of her 'ponce' to whom she gives, without any pretence, all the love of which she is capable, before, during, and after, the act.

Women's attitude to the sexual act is very different from that of men. The contrectation impulse is already satisfied by all those preliminaries of the actual coitus which we call *love-play*. A woman obtains much more satisfaction from these than does the man, and in fact experiences a sort of 'fore-pleasure' if we may call it so. This may go so far that the woman may dispense altogether with the orgasm proper. Thus we have the explanation of 'flirting,' which Weininger calls *coitus par distance*. Without actual connection with a man, the slightest bodily contact enables her to experience all stages of tumescence and detumescence in fantasy. She can reach the climax of eroticism, and, as it were, satisfy the contrectation impulse psychically. Thus she really has coitus with a man *par distance*. Such satisfaction is possible in women only because they are naturally much more susceptible to erotic impressions than men. One is almost inclined to agree with Weininger in asserting that women are *merely* sexual, men *also* sexual. He justifies this assertion by referring to the sexuality which is already latent in the female child, ready to be awakened by any stimulus.

That women are, in fact, always waiting for a man to satisfy their sexual desire, and that this waiting itself increases sexual desire,

appears to be an indubitable fact. Just as the ovum is waiting for fertilisation, so the woman is waiting for the embrace of a man. Thus we explain the intensity of the sexual impulse in the man and the *apparent* passivity of the woman. Thus also we explain the fact that the bridal night or first sexual experience is to the woman unforgettable, whereas the man may forget about it completely – unless, perhaps, a claim for alimony recalls it to his memory!

We may sum up all that has been said on the differences between the sex life of men and women as follows: the man is the victor; he conquers by boldness and strength; the woman is the vanquished; she conquers by waiting and loving. A man may desire to possess a woman at first sight, but the woman can only be brought to the point of yielding as the result of many complex motives. The chief of these is love, but sympathy, kindliness, or pity for the (frequently simulated) agony of the man if she denies him, may suffice. It is true that, in some cases, a woman 'falls' for calculated reasons, such as the hope of marriage or economic support. There are also cases in which sheer lust or mere curiosity are the motives. Men, presuming on their so-called polygamous nature, will have connection with any woman, regarding her merely as an object of pleasure, but normally a woman will only yield, and will certainly only get full satisfaction, in the arms of a man she loves.

To woman man is an object not of pleasure but of love. We can illustrate this by an experience which is quite common. It frequently happens that two friends may exchange mistresses, or that one may hand his former mistress over to his friend when he has found a new one. But the woman, after this temporary prostitution, returns to her first 'friend,' whom she still 'loves' as well as before.

We have already, in the course of Book III, touched on the subject of the unsatisfied woman, and mentioned that the man is usually to blame. We may mention two types of unsatisfied woman – one the neglected wife, and the other the insatiable woman. The latter type comprises those women who, through excessive sexual indulgence, have developed such a strong sexual appetite, that they cannot be satisfied by any one man. It is extremely interesting to observe that we can find analogues for each of these types in the animal kingdom. The unsatisfied woman is bad-tempered and virulent, always ready to vent her dissatisfaction in every possible way, and in the same way we find that, in the animal kingdom, lack of sexual satisfaction causes the female to manifest a generally hostile temper towards her environment. A good example is the common gnat. We find in some species an excess, in some a shortage, of males, and either may have a great effect on the character of the animal. Among gnats

there are so few males that Fabre was the first ever to observe them. 'There are about ten females to every male. Although their lives are short, this does not prevent them living polygamously. Of every ten females nine end their lives as virgins, without ever having met a male, or even knowing that such a thing exists. Perhaps it is their celibacy which makes them so savage, for it is only the female which bites us and sucks our blood.'[1]

Of the second type, the insatiable woman, there have been many famous examples in history, such as Catherine of Russia. This type also has an analogue among animals, though it is true only in a modified form. It is not among the polygamous species that we find it (for a tendency to polygamy and insatiability are entirely different), but in certain well-known species where satisfaction is obtained by the female by devouring the sexual partner. The female actually devours the male, either after or during the sexual act. Many examples of this exist, but I will mention only two familiar ones – the garden spider and the praying mantis – which both manifest this sort of insatiability. The female of the garden spider sits patiently in her web, waiting for chance prey, and also, perhaps, for the male who is to satisfy her sexual desire at the time of rut. Alas for the poor male! Scarcely is the coitus finished, than he is pitilessly devoured by his female. But the mantis is even more startling, for she does not even wait until the act is completed. Immediately coitus begins she turns her long neck and calmly begins to eat the male, who is drunk with sexual desire. I chose these two examples as they are the most cruel. The explanation of this apparent cruelty is that the female is not satisfied with one germ-cell from the male, but takes all the cells within her body in order to ensure the perpetuation of the species.

Thus we have cannibalism among animals, with the female as the active party. We often hear similar expressions among human beings. For instance, some one will describe an insatiable woman as 'sucking the life out of the man.' Even though the phrase 'sucking out' is not intended literally, it means that the insatiable woman, who lives only for sex, can wreck not only one man, but many – physically, mentally, and morally, but especially morally. This vampirism among human beings is very serious, because it may destroy not only one man, but the happiness of whole families or even whole peoples. Honour, reputation, wife, family, parents – all will be sacrificed by a man mad with desire, when he is in the clutches of such a vampire, who is sucking the life out of him. We apply the word *vampire* to woman. But what of man? Is he not also

[1] Remy de Gourmont, *La Physique de l'Amour*.

a vampire if, without love, he seduces a girl, makes her pregnant, and thus ruins her whole life? Is not the man even more culpable than the woman? Why should morality and restraint be demanded only of women? Why should not men, too, observe moderation in sex? There is one law for men and another for women. The more sexual experience a man has had, the higher does he stand in his own estimation, in that of his friends, and in that of – women! But the more sexual experience a woman has had, the worse her reputation.

So that we have still another difference between men and women. This is perhaps the most fundamental of all, since its consequences are the most serious. The remedy can be found only in the individual, in his nobility of character, and in the degree of his inhibitions. Education and social changes can do but little.

If once a woman 'falls,' then she sinks rapidly and inevitably. A man may be carried away for the moment in a whirl of sexual excess, but he soon finds something to save him from sinking into the abyss. He finds it in his work. In this connexion we may apply Weininger's words: 'Woman is only sexual; man sexual and something more.'

I run over in my mind the many other differences between men and women which might be mentioned. But it is useless to begin, because there are so many that they could fill volumes. Here I have mentioned only the most important, and tried to describe them accurately as they appear in every-day life. But in the end we human beings remain as different from each other as the germ-cells from which we are derived. It is true that we may modify our characters. It is true that we possess the power of reason. But this is only on the surface. Within, in all the many wonderful processes which constitute our life, both men and women remain little helpless playthings of the great, wonderful, omnipotent power of NATURE!!

APPENDIX

PROSTITUTION

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PROSTITUTION

THE whole of human life, from birth till death, is dominated by invisible forces which surge within us; they arise of their own accord, they depart of their own accord; they lead to activities which, according to their external effects, may be classified as either positive or negative. By positive we mean that they have a result which is necessary for the continuation of the race, a result which is immediately or ultimately recognisable in its effect on our environment. We also mean by positive, that these consequences appear to have an indisputable vital purpose. We describe as negative the activities which have either no result at all, or only a very remote one. Darwin showed that in the animal kingdom there are thousands of variations in conduct which serve for the improvement of the race; they are imitated by the members of the species, and gradually come to be accepted as natural. Human life also consists of a number of activities which, when they spring from within us, we call impulses. Thus hunger and thirst are impulses, and the activities to which they give rise secure the preservation of life. These are inborn impulses; even the new-born babe seeks the mother's breast. The same impulses drive us to work and take part in the battle of daily life, in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Hunger and thirst are natural unconscious impulses of the most elementary character, and are very powerful. No power in the world, no amount of willpower, no possible training, can completely suppress these impulses, for their suppression would mean the extinction of life itself.

But what of the beginning of life? Is this not also intimately related to an impulse which is latent in each of us – the sexual impulse? This impulse, too, when once aroused, cannot, and indeed should not, be restrained by any power on earth.

Yet it is essentially different from such impulses as hunger and thirst; in the first place, although inborn, it does not develop until the age of puberty; it remains active only for a certain period, and then fades completely. It also differs from the other impulses mentioned in that it is always related in some way to that mysterious force within us, which we call reason.

This sexual impulse has been associated by Nature with a high degree of pleasurable feeling, and was given fundamentally, if not solely, for the purpose of procreation. Like the mighty impulse which in animals, at the time of rut, may cause them to forget food

and drink, the human passions were only given to us by Nature in order to make the act of generation pleasurable and beautiful, and thus to induce human beings to continuous procreative activity. This was well meant on the part of Nature, but has been misunderstood, and to some extent abused, by humanity. The original purpose has been forgotten, and often lust alone remains. Thus, as far back as human history reaches, we find evidence that the primary impulse of sexual desire became almost as powerful as hunger and thirst. This impulse, without which the human race could not have continued, drove men to procreation on the one hand, and also to indulgence in sexual activities purely for the sake of the pleasures of voluptuous sensation, on the other.

It was therefore natural that institutions should have been established to serve this sexual indulgence; and, thanks to the power of those who want them, and to the strength of the passions which inspire them, these institutions have persisted until our own day. Although war has been waged against prostitution for centuries, although armies of philosophers, doctors, and statesmen have taken the field against it, it persists and will persist as long as the sex impulse does.

What is prostitution? Every age, every people, every branch of science, nay, every scientist, has his own answer to this question. The last few decades especially, during which there has been a great development of sexual science, have provided numerous definitions of prostitution.

The most usual definition is: the habitual yielding of a woman to several men in succession for money. This definition contains three important elements: firstly, professional indulgence in sexual intercourse; secondly, promiscuity, i.e. the change of client from time to time; thirdly, the acceptance of payment for the use of the body for sexual purposes.

Although later it will be necessary to give another definition, we shall accept this one provisionally, since it will help us to get a general view of prostitution and of its historical development.

The first indications of prostitution go back to very remote antiquity. Prostitution was originally not professional, but, as it were, a natural duty of woman. It was not regarded as an evil, and came under the protection of various religious cults. The various festivals or temple ceremonies of primitive peoples scarcely ever passed off without what we should regard as scenes of sexual licence. The woman, being the bearer of new life, was related to the gods and goddesses of Fertility, and in honour of these goddesses,

whether called Ceres, Astarte, Isis, or Mylitta, great festivals were held annually. The celebration of these feasts would not have been complete unless the women gave themselves promiscuously, either to the priests of the cult, or to other men. It would have been regarded as sacrilege if a woman had sought to excuse herself from this duty, and refused to offer her body. She would inevitably have called down upon herself the curse of the gods and been barren (the greatest of all disgraces at that time). Let us note what Herodotus tells of prostitution in Babylon:

'The Babylonians have a most shameful custom. Every woman born in the country must, once in her life, go and sit down in the precinct of Venus, and there consort with a stranger. Many of the wealthier women, who are too proud to mix with the others, drive in covered carriages to the precinct, followed by a goodly train of attendants, and there take their station. But the larger number seat themselves within the holy enclosure, with wreaths of string about their heads, and here there is always a great crowd, some coming and some going. Lines of cord mark out paths in all directions among the women, and the strangers pass along them to make their choice. A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home till one of the strangers throws a silver coin in her lap and takes her with him beyond the holy ground. When he throws the coin he says these words: "the goddess Mylitta prosper thee" (Venus is called Mylitta among the Assyrians). The silver coin may be of any size; it cannot be refused, for that is forbidden by law, since once thrown, it is sacred. The woman goes with the first man who throws her money and rejects no one. When she has gone with him, and so satisfied the goddess, she returns home; and from that time forth no gift, however great, will prevail with her. Such of the women as are tall and beautiful are soon released, but the others who are ugly have to stay a long time before they can fulfil this law. Some have waited for three or four years in the precinct. A custom very like this is found also in the island of Cyprus.' [1]

It was originally only at actual festivals that these orgies took place, but soon the custom developed into a regular arrangement which we may call 'temple prostitution.' In Babylon, among the Carthaginians, among the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, in Armenia, Egypt, and India – everywhere this temple prostitution gained a footing. Originally attributed only to the honour of the godhead, it soon became transformed into a sort of prostitution which was already, in a sense, professional.

Originally, every woman had been obliged to give herself once a

[1] Herodotus, Book I, 199 (Rawlinson's Translation).

year to a stranger in the shrine of Mylitta, and this was purely a religious duty. But it became *professional* prostitution when the woman accepted payment, which she donated for the maintenance of the shrine.

In a similar manner, the temple girls or temple virgins (the latter word sounds somewhat out of place!) were originally, in India and Greece, under the protection of a shrine, and were regarded as priestesses. But they sank to professional prostitution when they began taking money for the use of their bodies, although they handed it over to the temple. The high priest, originally only a priest, but later the lord and master of the temple, soon himself assumed the right of deflowering these virgins, and thus surrounding them with the odour of sanctity. We find a somewhat similar custom to this still prevailing in some parts of Asia and Africa, where the maidenhead must only be taken by the priest or chief of the tribe. These peoples are, however, at an extremely low level of culture, and the lowest sorts of animal sexuality prevail among them. The others were regarded as civilised peoples. Yet we have the same custom save that it is seen through somewhat different spectacles.

The temple festivals of the Greeks, with their dances, were the beginning of the orgies, in the course of which the temple maidens resorted to prostitution with outsiders in the sacred groves. We are told by many African explorers that even to-day the same customs are found among peoples whom we regard as savages. Their wild dances always culminate in sexual orgies. But we have no need to go so far. If we look at the customs to be found among our own peasantry at the time of church festivals, we find something of the same phenomenon. The sanctity may be lacking, but the sexual orgies are certainly not! The orgies which are described as taking place at the festivals of Isis are paralleled in our own times.

We have mentioned the temple maidens in India, but they deserve a special note. They are called 'nautch girls' (i.e. dancing girls), and there is scarcely a Hindu temple which does not boast a considerable bevy of such maidens. They come from all tribes and classes of the population; they are carefully prepared for their profession from early childhood and, according to some authorities, receive an excellent education, especially in dancing and singing. At the age of puberty, they bring their virginity to the high priest as a first offering, and are then placed under the protection of the temple. They are at the disposal of any man for payment, whether he be rich or poor, native or foreign, of high rank or low. Even when they are away from the shrine, as when they are invited to other festivals,

they first exhibit their skill as dancers and singers and then indulge in prostitution for which they are well paid. Then they return home. We have accounts of similar institutions in Greece and Rome, where it was primarily dancers who, under the cloak of religion, carried on the profession of prostitution. The feasts in honour of Venus, the Bacchanalia, and many other common festivals, all ended in sexual orgies. Similar accounts are given of the Ancient Egyptians.

This temple prostitution was deeply influenced by Christianity. Its worst excesses disappeared altogether, but some traces of it remained until well on into the Middle Ages. At church festivals, annual fairs and carnivals, all of which were extremely popular, it was customary that women should be abused sexually. There was also the *jus primæ noctis*, which was the right of the lord of the manor to deflower the wives of his feudal subjects – a form of rape or prostitution which was acquiesced in by the husbands. Its origin is obviously to be found in the earlier exclusive right of the high priest or ruler of the tribe to deflower the virgin.

The transition from purely religious to professional prostitution occurred when the woman's services, originally a religious duty, were paid for in money. For once this step had been taken, it was inevitable that girls would resort to this method of acquiring money of their own free will, without the sanction of priest or religion.

No matter how closely we study the question, it is always difficult to fix the line of demarcation between professional and temple prostitution; the transition was very gradual or else it never existed. For we find the rudiments of professional prostitution existing side by side with temple prostitution.

In Greece, the country whose civilisation we regard as the highest of antiquity, there were laws dealing with professional prostitution. Solon instituted a state brothel – the *Dicterion*. The slaves, who were its inmates, were divided into three classes, in accordance with their intelligence, beauty, and accomplishments. The *hetairæ* – the highest class – were distinguished both for their beauty and their high standard of mental attainments. They were frequently not only mistresses but also advisers of famous statesmen, and showed themselves freely in public. When one reads of Saïs, daughter of a *hetaira* Temandra, the beloved of Alcibiades, who came as a girl of seven into the possession of Apelles the artist, and lived to inspire Demosthenes, or when we read that Pericles was wholly under the influence of Aspasia – who would suspect that these names were those of famous *hetairæ* – of prostitutes? It was regarded as quite proper in Ancient Greece for every public man to take everywhere

with him his *hetaira*, who was also his adviser, and this woman enjoyed honour and respect.

The second class of prostitutes in the state brothel of Athens were the *aleutridæ* – artists, using the word very generally. They were educated in the arts of flute-playing and dancing, and offered themselves freely to strangers who had brought money and jewels, on the ships lying at anchor in the Piræus.

The third or lowest class – the *dicteriadæ* – were the women of pleasure of the lower classes, of the sailors, galley-slaves, and artisans, of whom there was always a great number in the busy port.

Athens soon found imitators of its prostitution in Sparta and Corinth. At Corinth there was a temple of Aphrodite in which, according to Strabo's account, more than 1,000 maidens served the god, i.e. were temple prostitutes. Corinth, a great commercial port, soon became the most famous of all cities for its prostitutes, and supplied all Greece with *hetairæ*. Even morally rigid Sparta had its prostitutes who went about bedecked with jewels and precious stones and contributed many a famous name to the list of *hetairæ*.

There are many indications of the amazing proportions of prostitution among the Romans. Some historians claim to find in the story of the foundation of the city – the oft-told beautiful tale of the Rape of the Sabines – the beginnings of prostitution in Rome. It is usually believed that the Romans, especially under the Empire, reached depths of moral depravity and sexual excess only exceeded by France in the reign of Louis XIV and Louis XV. But the scientist must confine himself to facts for which there is positive historical evidence.

Excavations have proved the existence of brothels in Ancient Rome, which were called *fornices* or *lupinaria*. At Pompeii, we have, in the *spintriæ*, a proof of the existence of professional prostitution. The *spintriæ* are small round entrance tickets for brothels; they are decorated with obscene groups and leave no doubt as to their purpose. In many of the Roman baths the sculptures and ceiling decorations are obscene and show quite unambiguously the real purpose of these elaborate bathing establishments.

Latin authors of both the Republic and the Empire mention the various cults in honour of the goddesses of fertility. Venus was especially favoured in this way, and all the public prostitutes are said to have brought rich offerings to this goddess on certain days of the year. The Bacchanalia, which were originally festivals in honour of Bacchus, degenerated into lascivious dances which almost always culminated in sexual orgies.

Roman law compelled men to marry at an early age but did not prohibit prostitution. On the contrary, the well-to-do Roman always had an extensive love-life. Ovid admires courtesans and pays them enthusiastic homage in his poems. During the later Empire all possible manner of perversions flourished and, despite the severe sumptuary laws administered by the Ædiles, who were particularly concerned with the supervision of the brothels and baths, these excesses could not be checked. The prostitutes had to obtain licences from the Ædiles before they could practise their profession, and they changed their names at the same time. The strict moral legislation introduced by Justinian brought about a temporary change in Roman sexual life and brought the institution of concubinage to its height. Prostitution had been frowned upon, but now nothing wrong was seen in concubinage; it was regarded as a relief from sexual duties for the real wife.

So much then for prostitution in Ancient Greece and Rome.

The beginnings of prostitution may be found in the very early history of every country and every people, just as in these civilisations. It would lead us too far, however, to go further into these, and we shall therefore turn to Europe in the Middle Ages. We get the clearest picture of prostitution in the Middle Ages at the time of the Crusades. A whole army of whores followed the Crusaders; they were separated into different classes and were always at the disposal of the knights and their followers. We are told that there were no less than 4,000 prostitutes in the retinue of Charles the Bold. It is interesting to note that, in spite of the powerful influence of the Church at that time, unchastity had assumed enormous proportions. It was manifested especially on all occasions such as tournaments, councils, or carnivals, which attracted great numbers of people to one place. The prostitution which took place on such occasions as these can only be described as 'wild prostitution.' Women of all ages and classes, counting on the drunkenness and lack of restraint of the soldiers and their leaders, availed themselves of the opportunity afforded for earning something. The long military campaigns of course afforded abundant opportunities for orgies of this sort as well as for the robbery and pillage of the demoralised population. The wild excesses of war-time were perpetuated in peaceful cities so that soon we see professional prostitution flourishing in legally protected brothels in most of the big cities. The guild of prostitutes even received a certain degree of respect from the stern civic officers. In the army officers were specially appointed for the 'whore-herd' and had to maintain discipline among the wild crowd of prostitutes; similarly, in the cities, worthy respectable burghers aspired to the

great honour of the office of 'supervisor of public prostitutes.' Many civic documents from the Middle Ages dealing with this matter are extant.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the brothels were required to hand over a part of their revenue to the town authorities and to place their services at the disposal of distinguished visitors *gratis*. On the arrival of some great lord and his train in a town, the brothels were festively decorated and contended with one another in providing both numbers and beauty. Schultz in his *Deutsches Leben* tells us that when the Emperor Sigismund sojourned for some time in 1434 in the city of Ulm, the streets were illuminated as soon as the Emperor and his followers entered the common 'whore house.' Twenty years before this date the same Emperor had come with 800 horse to Berne, where he remained several days. The council of the city gave instructions that the brothels should receive all the gentlemen well and the city corporation bore the cost instead of the Emperor. Sigismund did not omit to thank the Magistrates of Berne publicly for having provided them with free admission to the brothels for three days.[1]

The high esteem in which mediæval brothels were held is shown not only by the fact that princes, emperors, and kings patronised them, but also by the fact that they were tolerated by the Church and indeed often had to pay a tax to the princes of the Church if they were built on Church lands. Even the papal chamber of Rome had a large income from brothels, which reached as high as 20,000 ducats; and the Archbishop of Mayence is also said to have derived an enormous revenue from prostitutes not living in brothels.

Although the relations of prostitutes with the civic authorities were so excellent, they were at first confined exclusively to the houses assigned to them; and later we notice attempts to regulate their activities in various ways. Thus there were regulations prescribing a sort of uniform dress for prostitutes such as those of Pope Pius V (1566–72) in Rome; or appointing certain places and hours at which they might ply their trade. These rules appear to have been intended for the purpose of preventing respectable burgesses from being mistaken for prostitutes.

Sometimes we find that the brothel is honoured, as for example, in the arrangements made in Berne in 1526 for the election of a 'queen of the brothel,' who was adorned with a golden crown, was regarded as the leader of her profession, was present at all public functions, and was held in great honour.

In France and England, prostitution also began during the Middle

[1] Rudek, *Geschichte der öffentlichen Sittlichkeit in Deutschland.*

Ages. French literature gives abundant evidence of the existence of luxuriously appointed brothels. In England, prostitution was first confined to the public baths, which gradually became (especially during the reign of Henry II, 1154–89) houses of pleasure. These baths, which stood on the right bank of the Thames, became the sites of the wildest orgies. Dühren tells us in his *Geschlechtsleben in England* that public morals in England were very adversely affected by French and Norman influences, and that it was primarily the nobility and clergy who were responsible for this decline. This fact is evidenced by many popular songs of the gleemen handed down from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Henry II passed a statute dealing with brothels, which, *inter alia*, enacts that brothels (still called baths) should be closed on holy-days; that no woman must be detained therein against her will; that the whore-master must not take a nun or married woman; and (this is the best evidence of the professional aspect) that the woman could not take payment from the man unless she spent the whole night until morning with him.[1]

After these few examples of the history of prostitution, we can easily understand that some scientists maintain that prostitution is an inevitable phenomenon of civilisation and take a similar view of it to that which was held in Greece and Rome. They regard it, on the one hand, as a form of liberation for the wife, and on the other a necessity of life for men.

The question of the justification of prostitution will be dealt with elsewhere; but we should like to point out here that in all ages the chief responsibility for the existence and maintenance of prostitution must be ascribed to the male sex. It was the men who made the laws, and, had they wished to do so, they might easily have stamped it out at one time or another in various countries. But we realise how highly this terrible evil has been esteemed when we see that it actually received the approval and protection of the government and the law.

The most striking example of recognised prostitution is to be found in Japan,[2] where the number of prostitutes in the 2,000 *maisons de plaisir* is estimated at nearly half a million. It would be difficult to get a better description of prostitution in Japan than that contained in Moll's *Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaften*, and I will therefore content myself with quoting it.

[1] Stow, *The Survey of London containing the Original Increase of Modern State and Government of that City*, 1663.

[2] R. Hintze, *Yoshiwara*, *Zeitschrift zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*, 1807, Vol. 6: Krauss, *Geschlechtsleben der Japaner*, 1907.

'Not only does every larger town or business centre possess numerous brothels, but even the villages have several. They are called *Yoshiwara*, *Youowa*, or *Kouromoni*. They are often the most elegant houses in the district; not seldom they are connected with temples; and, what is most surprising to us, they are practically State institutions. Prostitutes in Japan constitute a special caste, the existence of which dates back many centuries, and is protected by law and custom. The State buys the girls when they are young, has them educated in various arts and prepared for their future profession. It is mostly the children of the poor, or orphans, who are attracted to this life. They are sold or hired out by their parents or guardians to certain houses; here they are educated in various accomplishments such as reading and writing and playing the *Sami*, good deportment, etc. The older courtesans (the *Oire*) instruct the younger ones, who have to serve them as attendants. Although they are frequently admitted to the house at an early age, they cannot be prostituted until they are fourteen years old. When they are twenty-seven they again receive their liberty, if they have not already been purchased privately, or married. It may surprise us that prostitutes in Japan easily obtain husbands, but it is, as a matter of fact, quite usual for them to enter the haven of matrimony after they have served their term. Indeed, the majority of poor Japanese obtain their wives from brothels. In general, Japanese men take no exception to the profession, which is attributed not to the girl but to her parents, for it was they who, although perhaps under the stress of poverty, sold their girl into this life. The girl herself is therefore not held responsible. According to the Japanese moralist Kiabara Ekken, whose book *Oma Diagartu* contains a summary of the ideas on feminine morality which have long prevailed among the people, the chief virtues of a woman are unquestioned submission to the authority of her parents, self-sacrifice, reserve, modesty, and patience – in short, unselfishness in the most general sense of the word. She who strives to attain these virtues is applauded, and thus the women in the brothels are not scorned, but rather pitied and even honoured. Some of them have had a great influence in literature and art. Artists of note like Yoshitoshi, Kitagawa, and Utamaro have not thought it beneath their dignity to specialise in the life of the Yoshiwara. Japanese literature contains the biographies of famous courtesans, with their portraits. Of one such it is written 'she stained her body but not her heart'; another is described as 'the lotus flower of the swamp.' However, although prostitutes enjoy a certain respect in Japan, it is wrong to think that they take a high place in society. The better classes do not esteem them at all,

although they do not treat them with the contempt which is usual among ourselves. They are pitied, only because they did not take up the life of their own free will but under the orders of their parents. Accordingly the word for a prostitute in Japan is not a derogatory one such as the terms 'whore' or 'harlot' among us; it is a decent expression and means 'temporary wife' or 'wife of an hour.' Formerly it was customary to give these girls to an outsider for a certain period, i.e. they entered into a sort of temporary marriage. This was attended with ceremonies which resembled those of a real marriage. The guest was offered rice three times in the reception room, as at an actual wedding, and the girl appeared in the *shinzo*; they were united with the conventional formula. This ancient custom of temporary marriage may explain the present rule that no guest can remain in a brothel for longer than twenty-four hours.

'Prostitution is strictly regulated by the government. The prostitutes must reside in specified quarters of the town, and may not appear anywhere else. If, for family reasons, they have occasion to leave the quarter, they are accompanied by another person. However, this does not completely prevent secret (i.e. unlicensed) prostitution in Japan. The brothel keepers form a close corporation and choose a director from among their number, and they themselves assume responsibility for observing the official regulations. In Tokio, the capital, there are several brothel districts, the most famous of which is the well-known *Yoshiwara*. This is a whole section of the city, surrounded by ditches, and can only be entered by a single narrow bridge. The entrance gate bears the poetic inscription: "A dream of Spring when the streets are full of cherry blossoms, a breath of Autumn when the streets are lined with lanterns." There are said to be nearly 3,000 prostitutes in the *Yoshiwara*.

'The word *Yoshiwara* means literally "swamp of reeds" and is derived from the swampy area on which the first brothels stood in 1617. Later, this term was interpreted poetically as the "swamp of happiness." As early as the seventeenth century, laws were enacted dealing with the arrangement of the houses, admission, mode of dress of the inmates, permission to leave, etc. These laws, however, allowed loopholes to procurers, who kidnapped girls in the country and treated them most cruelly. It was not until 1872 that new laws were passed which guaranteed the freedom of the girls, regulated their relation with the brothel, and made provisions for sanitary supervision. The *Yoshiwara* is divided into parallel streets within which, until 1872, it was not allowed to build a house of more than two stories. However, this regulation was repealed in that year, and since that time, many larger houses have been built – some of them like

palaces. There in the evenings the visitor may enjoy a spectacle which is probably without parallel in the world, though it is found at a lower level in some of the provinces. Dressed in robes of beautiful colours, the girls sit in rows in front of golden screens, in rooms which appear to be like cages, since they are separated from the outside world by a wooden trellis work. About the end of the eighteenth century the custom arose of showing the standing of the brothel by the height of the trellis-work grating. In houses of the first class they reached up to the ceiling; in those of the second class they were lower and narrower; whilst in those of the third class the laths were horizontal instead of vertical. But since 1872, in houses of the higher classes the girls have not been exhibited publicly at all; at most, their photographs are hung up before the house, but some do not even do this. Intending visitors must resort to one of the tea-houses, which serve as intermediaries between the public and the women of the two higher classes of brothel. The visitor may, if he desires, have photographs of the girls laid before him, from which he makes his choice. He is then conducted to the house he has chosen. In the third class this preliminary is dispensed with; the visitor simply chooses his girl from behind the grating.

'The whole of the Yoshiwara district is under strict police supervision, so that the greatest order prevails; the quiet is exemplary, and security complete. Public decency is in no way affected by what goes on here. Prostitutes are distinguished by wearing a great number of pins in their hair and they also turn the large bow on the girdle – usually at the back – to the front so that it lies over their lap. In the greater cities lanterns are hung in front of the houses, which are decorated with the coats of arms of the distinguished courtesans who reside there. There are even books which are like catalogues, and contain the lanterns, coats of arms, and parasols which are carried in front of the superior courtesans when they are out walking.' . . .

It is a mistake to believe that prostitution is a phenomenon peculiar to civilisation. We find even amongst the most primitive peoples of Asia and Africa, that the women are willing to give their bodies to any man for payment. Ploss-Barthels[1] gives accounts of races amongst whom the girls frequently visit other tribes, in order to earn a dowry by prostitution, and then return as wealthy, marriageable, and very much desired objects of purchase. Some African peoples regard it as natural to offer their own wives to a stranger, so long as he is rich and can pay. This is usually interpreted, in accordance with our general

[1] Op. cit.

habit of thinking of these peoples, as part of their *naïveté* – as a variety of that 'hospitable prostitution' which is extremely common. Many of the peoples of Asia and Africa have, like the Eskimos, a custom that if a guest visits a house, the father *naturally* places his hut, and with it, his wife and daughters, at the visitor's disposal. It is said that there is no greater insult to the host than to refuse this offer. The same custom is reported in Siberia and some parts of Russia.

We now come to the consideration of prostitution among ourselves at the present day. Though centuries divide us from Ancient Greece and Rome, and the witch trials of the Middle Ages, we find that, despite external appearances to the contrary, the matter is essentially the same now as it was then.

We must first point out that there are to-day two distinctly different, although closely related, varieties of prostitution. Firstly we have public professional prostitution, and secondly those thousands and thousands of women who are so anxious to be rated very differently but who, from the scientific standpoint, must be regarded as 'secret prostitutes.'

This view may appear harsh, but it is sound. In the definition of prostitution already quoted there were two important elements; one, the indiscriminate acceptance of clients, and the other the acceptance of payment in money. We pointed out at the time that this definition was not adequate for all purposes, and accepted it only provisionally. Now, however, we must state that the whole problem is so complex that it is necessary to seek for a wider definition.

When we consider broadly the *effects* of prostitution, these two elements, promiscuity and money payment, are not the only criteria. There are many border-line cases, and this new point of view leads us to ask whether much wider limits must not be given to the denotation of the term prostitution.

In my opinion, the essential element of prostitution lies in the fact that it is purely physical or animal. This is the fundamental criterion from the ethical point of view. Every man of decent feeling must regard the sexual union of two persons, which is intended by Nature for the purpose of procreation, as the highest and most sublime of all human experiences. We human beings, who have the god like gift of reason and are far above the lower animals, should never forget our superiority and sink to becoming slaves of animal lust. We should submit to this slavery – which it *always* is from the ethical point of view – only when we are fulfilling the purpose of Nature, the continuance of the race.

Where in the world is the man who could love his own child, his

own flesh and blood, if he had procreated it without any feeling, without any sense of responsibility to the world and to the race. The institution of marriage, as I have already insisted, is imposed upon us by morality and religion, to some extent contrary to human nature, if we include the indissoluble marriage of the Catholic Church. But even here, the end sanctifies the means – and that end is the maintenance of the race. Some people regard as a sort of legalised prostitution a marriage in which two incompatible parties are chained together, and yet they refuse to recognise that an extra-marital liaison, of whatever duration, is essentially prostitution.

The definition first given applies only to professional prostitution, of which we have the classic example in the street-walker. At different times, and in different countries, attempts have been made to regulate professional prostitution by law from two points of view: firstly, from that of public decency; and secondly, from that of public health ('sanitary control'). The regulations followed the lines laid down during the Middle Ages; and the brothel system, as introduced and sanctioned during that period, still exists in many of the cities of Europe. Women who have chosen a life of prostitution are obliged to live in specified establishments called brothels, whore-houses, *maisons de plaisir*, etc., and carry on their profession only in such places. These brothels are under the control of a proprietor or proprietress, who naturally sees to it that the profits are as high as possible. The usual method of procuring new recruits, is to obtain young half-developed girls from the agents of the 'white slave traffic.' The price paid varies with the age, education, attractiveness, etc. It seems desirable at this point to give a short description of life in a brothel in order that the reader should appreciate the horrors of it.

When she once enters the brothel the hitherto free girl becomes in the truest sense of the word a slave of the brothel-keeper. At first she may be fascinated by the glamour of the place and the appointments, which range between shabby elegance and the highest luxury, and may think that she has begun a pleasant care-free life. But her slavery begins with the moment that the door closes behind her, for from that moment her indebtedness has begun. The brothel-keeper assumes responsibility for food, clothes, and shelter, for the girl, but debits the charges to her. He takes care to make each item as high as possible in order to make the account so high that the girl can never work off the pile of debt. The term 'work-off' is intended literally, for although during the morning the girl is allowed to rest she must clothe herself in light transparent garments when the evening begins, and make an appearance in the 'salon' and begin to 'work.' She has to joke, dance, and, above all, drink with whoever are present. The sale of intoxi-

cating drinks is an important side-line of the brothel-keeper, because, in addition to the enormous profits from excessive prices charged for drinks, it also keeps the guests in good spirits. When the girl has been chosen by one of the drunken guests, she retires with him to her cubicle and must place herself at his disposal. The kind of work and the quality of the clientele vary with the rank of the brothel. In books treating of this subject it is asserted that, in a popular brothel, a girl may receive as many as twenty or thirty men in the course of twenty-four hours; at the time of the carnival or congresses, etc., she may have to take fifty men in one day. The business of the brothel seems to depend on its reputation, and on the quality of its clientele. Sometimes the preliminary entertainments in the salon, the drinking and so on, themselves degenerate into shocking orgies; a wild confusion ensues in which every girl embraces every man present. The brothel-keeper sees to it that the girl is paid the fixed price. The earnings of the girl are put to her credit, but she has nothing for herself because her debts always exceed her earnings.

Brothels are of different qualities; in the seaports they degenerate into low-down 'boozing joints' and only contain the oldest and lowest types of women.

In most brothels it is the rule that the girls never go out alone. This rule is no doubt devised for fear that they might escape from their European slavery.

The police authorities usually have special regulations applying to brothels, providing for inspection and sanitary and moral control. These regulations usually require the examining official to interrogate the girls closely on their treatment by the keeper, and to deal with complaints. But what girl would dare to complain? The sanitary regulations also provide, in most cases, that the prostitutes must be examined twice a week for venereal disease by a public medical officer.

Most men believe that the regular inspection of brothels ensures freedom from risk of venereal disease, but as a matter of fact brothels are hotbeds of infection, firstly on account of the enormous numbers of men who visit them and secondly on account of the futility of the medical examination. The words *maison de plaisir* should really be translated 'breeding ground for venereal disease.' But of this anon. Later, in discussing the police regulations of Austria, I shall examine this question of official control at some length.

And anticipating to some extent, I mention here that since March, 1921, all brothels in Vienna have been closed.

A second system of official supervision was based on the principle that prostitutes, although not confined to brothels, should be restricted

to certain parts of the town. Every prostitute had the right to receive clients and carry on her profession, provided she dwelt in a house assigned to her by the police. This system, in which the special houses were indicated by certain signs, was abandoned; but the girls were now compelled to take lodgings in a particular area. This arrangement still prevails to some extent in most of the continental cities. Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, Paris, and London all have certain well-known 'red-light districts,' a list of which the porter of any hotel can supply to a guest. These are the streets in which half-grown youths love to loiter and through which respectable women or girls are afraid to walk. Finally we have the free prostitute, who lives where she chooses.

I shall not even attempt to describe the life of the prostitute who lives independently, since there is no typical picture; it depends on her position and on the quality of her clientele. Her dwelling may fluctuate anywhere between a single miserably furnished bedroom and the luxurious flat or house of the superior courtesan.

The police regulation of prostitution embraces, not merely the supervision of their domicile, but also regular medical examination. This 'sanitary control,' as it is rather humorously called, comes from France, where it originated in 1648, at a time when venereal disease had assumed terrible proportions. The object was to ascertain by examination, whether a prostitute was suffering from a venereal disease, and if so to remove her from her occupation, in order to prevent spread of the infection. Bretonne in 1790 suggested that they should be examined daily by an old experienced prostitute in addition to the doctor. He thought, no doubt, that the examination by an experienced colleague would be more thorough and efficient than that of the medical officers, who even in those days were already overworked!

Sanitary control is still an integral part of the official regulation of prostitution in most countries, but the methods of carrying it out must be regarded as completely inadequate from the medical point of view.

Moll, in his *Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaften*, writes: 'The control is not by any means so inadequate as is sometimes represented. In Berlin, for example, there are eight medical officers, each on duty for three hours, in addition to a relieving medical officer on Sundays. These have to deal with 3,700 prostitutes, so that each one receives an examination of at least four minutes. Although it is impossible to examine all the organs thoroughly in this time, still it is sufficient to discover infection with a high degree of probability, especially when we remember that microscopical examinations of the secretion are frequently made.' This statement is intended to put things in as rosy

a light as possible, but it merely demonstrates how ridiculously inadequate is this so-called 'sanitary control.' I maintain that it is only a farce. Four minutes' examination and occasional microscopical tests cannot be regarded by any conscientious medical man as sufficient for the diagnosis of venereal disease. Either the examination should be conducted thoroughly from head to foot, and a slide of the vaginal secretion taken in every case, or it should be abandoned altogether. What is the use of an examination on, say, Monday (even then a superficial one) with a negative result, if the same day the prostitute is infected with gonorrhœa, and four or five days elapse before the next examination? In the meantime she may have infected hundreds of men. What is the use of such 'sanitary control' as this? As carried out in most European cities it is nothing but a farce. It misleads the authorities, and gives a false sense of security to the clients; for, apart from everything else, a man resorts to a professional prostitute only because he thinks that there is no danger of infection if she is under police supervision. Poor fool!

The medical control of brothels is as bad, if not worse. Experience has shown that the attempt to carry medical control into brothels is attended with shocking scandals, such as bribery and permitting infected persons to remain in the house.

Accordingly, we welcome the 'abolition movement' which aims at doing away with official regulation of prostitution. It is sufficient to mention that this movement originated among doctors, who showed that regulation did not diminish the spread of venereal disease. The doctors found their greatest support in the leaders of the feminist movement, who regarded the examination as an indignity comparable to slavery. And slavery it is. The police regulation of public prostitutes, who pay large taxes to the revenues, is unjustified interference with the liberty of the individual. It has given rise to regulations which are simply the old rules of the Middle Ages in a modern dress. The police supervise the activities of the women, forbid them to walk in certain streets or to accost men, allow them only to promenade in certain streets assigned to them, and assert that these regulations are for the preservation of public morals! Public morals, and officially controlled prostitution! Could we have a more striking contradiction in terms!

These regulations are frequently evaded, as is also that requiring the medical officer to attend punctually to carry out the examinations. They are thus evaded on both sides; by the prostitutes and by the officials – those same zealous officials who suspect any woman walking alone and so make innumerable mistakes. There is no city in which within the last ten years there have not been cases of thoroughly

respectable women being placed in the most unpleasant situations.

The abolition movement has not only received the attention of the majority of high police officials but has also gained their support. These officials have learned the inadequacy of regulation. The closing of the five brothels still remaining in Vienna in March 1921, brought to light the fact that these had never fulfilled their purpose. They were little frequented and served rather as cloaks for the 'white slave traffic.'

The opposition to regulation, which has won increasing sympathy in official circles in many States, is due to a new point of view; this recognises that the main evil is not prostitution *per se* but only its evil consequences in the shape of venereal disease. The authorities should punish not prostitution as such, but only criminal accompaniments such as 'procuring,' 'maintaining' and the 'white slave traffic.'

On account of their great interest I shall now quote the Police Regulations which are still, in spite of the abolition movement, in force in Vienna, although they date from 1851! The reader will be able to form his own judgment. Let us be thankful that there are to-day sufficient enlightened officials, who do not adhere rigidly to these antiquated rules.

OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT OF VIENNA

Police ordinance of 5 April 1911, dealing with the police supervision of

PROSTITUTION

I. AUTHORITY FOR SUPERVISION

Section (1). The supervision of women who carry on immorality for gain is the duty of the Commissioner of Police for the District and the special branch of the 'police department dealing with the control of public morals.' German '*Sittenpolizei*').[1]

II. REGISTRATION

Section (2). The registration of a prostitute shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of these regulations either by the Chief Commissioner or by the appropriate Commissioner of Police.

[1] Translators' Note.—In Austria there is a department of the police which is especially concerned with sexual offences and prostitution. As there is no equivalent institution in England, we have retained the German word *Sittenpolizei*.

It shall not be carried out unless the prostitute has made a declaration that she desires to be registered.

Section (3). The following persons shall not be registered:

(*a*) Girls below the age of 16 years.
(*b*) Virgins.
(*c*) Pregnant women.
(*d*) Married women not legally divorced.
(*e*) Women infected with venereal disease.

Prostitutes infected with venereal disease shall be sent to hospital for treatment before being registered.

Section (4). Every woman, before being registered, shall give documentary evidence of her identity and domicile. A reasonable time may be allowed for obtaining this evidence without postponing registration.

She shall be examined thoroughly as to the circumstances and reasons which have led her to prostitution. The examination should be carried out *in camera* and she should be impressed with the gravity of the step she is taking.

Finally she shall be submitted to medical examination.

Section (5). Minors may be registered only by the Chief Commissioner, and then only if he is satisfied that the girl is morally abandoned and that there is no possibility of reformation.

If even the most remote possibility of such improvement exists, the girl must not be registered until all measures taken to reform her have failed. An opportunity should be given to her parents or guardian to exercise due influence over her. For this purpose the guardian should be summoned to the office, in such a way as not to prejudice his reputation. If the guardian resides out of Vienna, the notice must be sent direct and not through the local police.

To attempt to secure the return of the minor to a respectable life the help of the Curator for Minors should be invoked as well as that of any suitable humanitarian organisation.

Section (6). No certificate will be given to the prostitute to indicate that she has been registered, but she should be instructed in the contents of the police regulations.

Section (7). When a prostitute is registered a record should be made of any previous criminal convictions, or venereal infection, or any other relevant information. This should be obtained from the various departments concerned by communication with the police authority of the district from which she comes, or where she was formerly registered.

Section (8). Foreign prostitutes who resort to Vienna exclusively for the purpose of registration should be removed in accordance with the Law of 27 July 1871 (Imperial Code S. 88).

III. RESIDENCE OF PROSTITUTES

(*a*) PROSTITUTES WHO CARRY ON PROSTITUTION IN THEIR OWN DWELLINGS

Section (9). Every prostitute who carries on prostitution in her own dwelling must obtain the consent of the appropriate police authority in the choice of her dwelling-place. The guiding principle in granting permission should be that such dwellings must be as far as possible from centres of traffic and not in the vicinity of churches, schools, or other public buildings, or otherwise in neighbourhoods where they are likely to provoke a public scandal.

Section (10). The residence of a prostitute in a household in which persons under the age of 18 are included is prohibited.

Section (11). Not more than three prostitutes may lodge with any one landlady. Those establishments which at the date of these regulations do not comply with this condition may be allowed a reasonable time to reduce them within the number permitted.

Section (12). A prostitute who owns her own home, provided that she does not share it with other prostitutes, shall be subject to the minimum restriction in the choice of her place of residence.

Section (13). The relations of a prostitute with her landlady must be exclusively those of an ordinary contract for lease. Any further conditions – in particular, the taking of a percentage of her immoral earnings, or the delivery by the lessor to her clients of alcoholic drinks – is prohibited.

Prostitutes shall not be permitted to live with lessors who have transgressed these provisions.

Section (14). The police authority may at any time prohibit a prostitute from dwelling with a particular lessor, or in a particular house without assigning any reason for their decision.

Section (15). The dwellings of prostitutes shall be subjected to constant and careful supervision. The entry of the officers of the law for the purpose of inspection shall be allowed.

(*b*) PROSTITUTES WHO ARE DETAINED IN BROTHELS

Section (16). The establishment of new brothels or of houses in which the conditions are substantially those of a brothel is prohibited.

Brothels already existing shall be visited (without notice) by the Chief Commissioner and also by the local Police Commissioner: by

the former at least twice per annum and by the latter at least once every quarter. They shall also be inspected by a Public Medical Officer.

The inspection shall include the examination of all the rooms, the verification of the brothel keeper's schedule containing the nationality, date of admission, and date of departure of inmates; a medical examination to discover signs of ill-treatment; and general observance of the regulations applying to brothels.

Further an opportunity shall be given to the prostitutes to make of their own free will any complaints of their treatment and in particular in respect of their freedom to leave the house.

Section (17). As a result of such examination, the Chief Commissioner may make any regulations necessary in the interests of public health or public morality.

Section (18). The employment of minors as servants in brothels is prohibited.

Section (19). The police authorities may order a brothel to be closed at any time, in particular, if regulations (17) and (18) and those parts of (13) which apply to brothels, have not been duly observed.

(*c*) PROSTITUTES WHO CARRY ON PROSTITUTION OUTSIDE THEIR PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Section (20). Prostitutes who carry on prostitution outside their dwellings are not in general restricted in the choice of such dwellings. They may be prohibited from residing in a particular house, if, by their behaviour, they have given just cause for complaint.

IV. EFFECT OF REGISTRATION

Section (21). Every registered prostitute shall present herself for medical examination twice in every week at the time appointed.

Section (22). Every prostitute found to be suffering from a venereal disease shall, before 6 p.m. on the same day, present herself at the hospital appointed by the Commissioner of Police for treatment, under penalty of a fine. For this purpose she shall obtain a card of admission from the Commissioner.

Section (23). When received into the hospital she shall remain there until she is discharged by the medical officer in charge and shall obey all regulations.

Section (24). When discharged from the hospital she shall follow the instructions in respect of presenting herself for outdoor treatment and for observation.

For the purpose of recording the hospital diagnosis, and for the arrangement of subsequent outdoor treatment, the medical history

sheets shall be sent to the hospital authorities when the patient is admitted. These sheets shall remain there until the patient is discharged, or until the close of the required period of outdoor treatment or observation. The police authorities shall be notified in cases of outdoor treatment by an endorsement on the certificate of discharge.

If, in the interval between discharge and the conclusion of the outdoor treatment, it is necessary to re-admit the patient to hospital, an endeavour shall be made to send her to the hospital already in possession of her sheets. Alternatively the sheets shall be forwarded to the hospital to which she is admitted.

Section (25). Every registered prostitute changing her address is required to notify in person the Police Commissioners for the districts of the old and new address within 24 hours.

Section (26). On grounds of public decency, prostitutes are prohibited from loitering in the streets, in the company of other prostitutes or of *souteneurs*[1] or of entertaining the latter in their dwellings.

In other respects they shall only be subject to the general provisions of the law applying to all persons for the maintenance of public order and decency.

Section (27). Regulations may be made on the motion of the Commissioner of Police in the interests of public order and decency prohibiting conduct likely to provoke a public scandal on the part of a number of prostitutes living in the same dwelling or in the same street. The tenor of these regulations shall not exceed what is absolutely necessary in view of actually existing conditions.

V. MEDICAL EXAMINATION OF PROSTITUTES

Section (28). The medical examination shall include all parts of the body, and shall employ where necessary all the scientific devices which are available to the Medical Officer, in particular the vaginal speculum. At the time of the examination the doctor should explain its purpose and also instruct the prostitute on the first signs of infection and the gravity thereof. He shall also instruct her in prophylactic measures.

Section (29). If the Medical Officer finds evidence of venereal infection he shall forthwith send notice of the diagnosis to the appropriate Police Commissioner and shall draw the attention of the prostitute to the provisions of Sections (22)-(23) and warn her against

[1] The German *Zuhalter* denotes a man who lives on the immoral earnings of a woman. French *souteneur*. English 'ponce,' 'bully,' etc.

continuing sexual intercourse and refer her to Section 5, Paragraph 3, of the Statute of 24 May 1885 (Imperial Code S. 89).

Section (30). The Medical Officer shall enter the name of every prostitute sent to hospital in his day-book. The hospital report sent to the Police Commissioner on the discharge of the prostitute shall be communicated to the Medical Officer for entry in his day-book.

Section (31). Prostitutes failing to report themselves for any one medical examination shall be reported by the Medical Officer to the Commissioner of Police, who in the absence of a valid excuse will take steps to secure their attendance without prejudice to criminal proceedings.

In the same manner, prostitutes who do not present themselves at the appointed time shall be reported to the Commissioner for the purpose of instituting criminal proceedings.

VI. DE-REGISTRATION

Section (32). A prostitute wishing to be de-registered shall make application to the Commissioner of Police, and undergo medical examination by the Medical Officer. If found on examination to be suffering from venereal disease, she shall be sent to hospital for treatment and her release shall not be granted until discharged therefrom.

Section (33). Every prostitute who withdraws herself from control without having previously been de-registered shall be liable to prosecution unless she can show that she has lived a completely respectable life since withdrawing from control.

Section (34). On de-registration of a prostitute, the Chief Commissioner shall be notified.

Section (35). Any further supervision of such prostitutes shall be carried out in accordance with the principles for the supervision of unregistered prostitutes.

VII. SUPERVISION OF UNREGISTERED PROSTITUTES

Section (36). The detection of persons practising immorality is the duty of the Commissioners of Police and immediately of the Officers of the Special Department of Moral Police (*Sittenpolizei*).

Section (37). The Royal and Imperial Guard and the Police Officers not specially entrusted with supervision over prostitution, should only take action in cases where there is no doubt or where the proceedings are called for on other grounds.[1]

Section (38). The molestation or apprehension of persons merely

[1] Translators' Note.—Various statutes are here enumerated.

suspected of practising prostitution shall not be carried out except by those officers of the police specially entrusted with the supervision of prostitution and then only where the facts appear to be established beyond all reasonable doubt, by evidence based on repeated observations over a number of days.

The ordinary police shall confine themselves to reporting suspected cases.

Section (39). Special attention shall be paid to the environs of low-class bars. Proprietors of such establishments who are suspected of keeping women on the premises for purposes other than the sale of liquor shall be dealt with according to law. If necessary, the Licensing Authority shall be notified. The proprietors of such establishments shall be deprived of all special police privileges, as e.g., permission to keep open after hours or to have music.

Section (40). Persons who carry on prostitution under the cloak of some other profession shall also be subjected to supervision.

Section (41). Legal action shall be taken as the result of information against persons alleged to be practising prostitution or procuring, and also against suspicious advertisements appearing in newspapers.

Section (42). The action taken in each case shall be such as to prejudice the reputation of those concerned as little as possible.

VIII. COMPLAINTS

Section (43). Complaints received of conduct on the part of prostitutes, in the street or in certain houses, which is calculated to cause scandal, shall be carefully investigated and the necessary steps taken to put an end to the alleged nuisance.

IX. PENALTIES

(*a*) IN RESPECT OF REGISTERED PROSTITUTES

Section (44). The punishment of registered prostitutes for breach of the regulations enacted for the purpose of the supervision of prostitution shall be carried out by the Commissioner of Police, i.e. by summons.[1]

The penalty shall be imprisonment for from six hours to three days after careful consideration of the facts of each individual case.

Section (45). In the case of minor breaches of the regulations and especially in cases of first offenders, punishment may be dispensed with, after reprimand and caution of the prostitute.

Section (46). The imposition of the penalty according to Section 5

[1] Various statutes enumerated.

Paragraph 3 of the Law of 24 May 1885 (Imperial Code S. 89) shall only be made when a prostitute has been repeatedly convicted or is guilty of an offence showing a contempt for the police regulations or when the maximum penalty allowed by the police regulations is not adequate and it seems desirable that the prostitute should be sentenced to more than eight days' imprisonment, e.g. to be sent to the house of correction or to penal servitude.

The circumstances of the case shall be set out in detail and the reasons for seeking criminal prosecution shall be stated in the petition addressed to the court.

(*b*) IN RESPECT OF UNREGISTERED PROSTITUTES

Section (47). The institution of proceedings against unregistered prostitutes shall be carried out by the Commissioners of Police and also directly by the *Sittenpolizei*. In every case, the supervisor's report shall be submitted, containing the precise grounds for the prosecution.

Section (48). In the case of persons who are charged for the first time with carrying on professional prostitution, especially in the case of youthful persons, punitive measures shall only be undertaken, even though the facts have been established, where the injury to public morals involved makes such punishment necessary.

In all cases where it appears that the accused has been led into prostitution as a result of temporary accidental conditions and that the stigma of criminal conviction would place further obstacles in the way of a return to respectable life, action shall be taken only in the direction of securing proper guardianship in accordance with the principles of Section (5).

Similar steps shall be taken in the case of a minor charged with practising professional prostitution without being registered.

Section (49). No person accused of practising prostitution shall be submitted to medical (sexual) examination until the facts have been proved.

Section (50). Every prostitute who is found to be suffering from venereal disease shall be forthwith sent to hospital for treatment. She shall be informed of the obligations imposed on registered prostitutes which now apply to her in accordance with Sections (23)-(24).

The penalty for a breach of these regulations shall be in accordance with Section 5 Paragraph 2 of the Law of 24 May 1885 (Imperial Code S. 89) and the Ministerial Order of 30 September 1857 (Imperial Code S. 198).

Section (51). The summary punishment of persons convicted of practising professional prostitution who are not first offenders will be

by summons under Section 5 Paragraph 1 of the Law of 24 May 1885 (Imperial Code S. 89) and the Ministerial Order of 30 September 1857 (Imperial Code S. 198).

In respect of the initiation of criminal proceedings in accordance with the aforementioned law, as well as in respect to the length of the sentence, the provisions of Section (46) or (44) are applicable. But in determining the duration of the sentence the general principle shall be observed that the unregistered prostitute is to be dealt with more stringently than the registered prostitute.

Section (52). In summary prosecution of unregistered prostitutes the circumstances and the responsibility of the accused must be proved in such a way that there cannot possibly be any misunderstanding on the part of the accused, as to the nature of the offence with which she is charged.

X. JURISDICTION

(*a*) SCOPE OF THE JURISDICTION OF THE *SITTENPOLIZEI*

Section (53). The *Sittenpolizei* shall have jurisdiction over the following matters:

(i) General supervision of registered prostitutes, of dwellings and landladies, of such places as are mentioned in Sections (9) and (16), of unregistered prostitutes, of *souteneurs* and of procuring.

(ii) Functions belonging to this Department as the central authority for the control of the 'White Slave Traffic' in accordance with the Law of 12 August 1905 S.B. 3031.

(iii) The immediate responsibility for the registration of minors and of those prostitutes who practise prostitution outside their dwellings.

(iv) The clearing of streets frequented by prostitutes and of houses sheltering them.

(v) Dealing with unregistered prostitutes who have been detected by the Officers of the Department.

(vi) The discharge of any functions, which, on account of their special importance, may be referred to the Department by Parliament.

(vii) Holding inquiries into complaints directed either to the Department, or to the Commissioners of Police respecting the behaviour of prostitutes.

(viii) General supervision over the police commissioners for the purpose of securing uniformity in the administration of the regulations dealing with prostitution.

(ix) Revision of the penalties imposed by the Commissioners of Police.
(x) Hearing appeals against the decisions of the Commissioners of Police.
(xi) Convening periodical conferences of the inspectors of prostitutes.
(xii) Collection of statistics bearing on the regulation of prostitution and the framing of legislative proposals.

(*b*) JURISDICTION OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE

Section 54. The general administration of the regulations for the supervision of prostitution is the duty of the Commissioners of Police except in so far as, in accordance with Section (53), it lies within the exclusive jurisdiction of the *Sittenpolizei*. The Commissioners shall assist in the supervision over:

(i) Registered prostitutes within their respective districts.
(ii) The dwellings of prostitutes carrying on their profession within their dwellings.
(iii) The landladies of such dwellings.

In addition to these functions the Police Commissioners are also required to forward the following to the office of the *Sittenpolizei:*

(*a*) A weekly report of the changes which have taken place amongst the registered prostitutes in their respective districts.
(*b*) Complaints respecting the behaviour of prostitutes.
(*c*) Complaints respecting procuring.
(*d*) The Supervisor's report mentioned in Section (47).
(*e*) The notices required in cases of failure to attend medical examination after action has been taken.
(*f*) A monthly list of penalties imposed.
(*g*) A report of the periodical inspection of brothels.

Finally the Commissioners of Police shall report any changes in the condition of the establishments mentioned in Sections (9) and (16) and in respect of the landladies of such establishments, and cases in which the registration of a prostitute has not been completed despite the existence of the preliminary conditions required in Section (2).

Section (55). The office of 'Inspector of Prostitutes' shall be given to a reliable official and his name shall be sent to the office of the *Sittenpolizei*. The names of the police officers who have been placed at his disposal shall also be lodged at headquarters.

XI. FORMS

Section (56). For the purpose of uniformity in administration the use of forms other than those provided by the *Sittenpolizei* is prohibited.

XII. BEGINNING OF THESE REGULATIONS

Section (57). The provisions of this ordinance come into force on 1 June 1911.

We have now shown the general features of the public regulation of prostitution, and it remains to say something of the character and habits of these women themselves.

The first question which naturally arises is that of the reasons which have led them to adopt this manner of life. The most fundamental factor is, without doubt, a certain degree of moral deficiency. Otherwise it would be impossible for a woman to allow herself to sink so low as completely to forget herself, deliberately to stifle her womanliness, renounce her humanity, and turn into a mere plaything for others. In the word 'deliberately' lies the whole crux of the question. The first step may be quite deliberate, but the woman is ignorant of the inevitable process of degradation and of the steep decline which leads inevitably from this first step to the lowest depths of human life. Whether we are considering a soldier's 'tart' or a high-class courtesan the path is the same.

If we study the literature dealing with prostitution, we find many reasons adduced for the adoption of this life. Most of them are sought in the woman's character. We shall review and analyse all these reasons later, but we think that it is wrong to seek for the cause of prostitution in women only. Prostitution would not exist if men did not desire it. Man demands; woman supplies. Men like variety and do not believe that they should restrain their polygamous tendencies. Other towns – other women! Just like the mediæval carnivals and festivals, such gatherings as fairs, congresses and the like, are the great foci of prostitution, because, on such occasions, when the day's work is over, the men seek out the prostitutes. If there were no demand there would be no supply. Men are the slaves of habit, of tradition, and of alcohol. Any young man who (*rara avis*) desires to preserve his chastity and does not begin to 'live' as soon as possible, is derided by his companions and regarded as abnormal.[1] In the opinion of the world it is, as it were, part of a young man's education to begin the habit of sexual inter-

[1] Translators' Note. – This does not apply to the same extent to Anglo-Saxon countries. See Note on p. 198.

course as soon as possible. Where can he do this more easily, more cheaply, and (as he thinks) with less risk, than in the arms of a prostitute? The police will protect him from being robbed; the medical officer will protect him against venereal disease; and he protects himself against the risk of an illegitimate child and all the serious consequences this would involve. For a very little expense he can get all he wants. Thanks to this tradition of pre-marital intercourse, many men remain unmarried altogether; with some justification, they refrain from assuming the burdens of matrimony. Prostitution affords a fine susbtitute!

Is it really correct to tolerate prostitution as a *necessary* evil? Is not this evil rather fostered simply because men want it? Let us clear our minds of cant. *The chief reason for the existence of prostitution lies in the unwillingness of men to stamp it out.* We shall show later that this is even more true of secret than of professional prostitution.

We turn now to the consideration of the prostitute herself.

The various grounds for the adoption of prostitution which we shall mention may be referred ultimately to defects in education, or to some fault of character which is frequently manifested even in childhood. One feels almost inclined to attribute prostitution exclusively to bad social conditions and harmful moral influences during early childhood. This applies especially to girls of the poorer classes. From their earliest childhood they see immoral conduct on the part of their parents or lodgers, for these classes live huddled together in a confined space. Very soon they begin to imitate the bad examples themselves; their parents are at work all day and so they grow up without proper supervision; the first step is easily taken in the journey from which there is no turning back.

A second factor closely related to this is poverty. Poor children have to help to earn before they are grown. The wages which young girls receive are terribly low, no matter what their trade. At the same time, the contact with men and boys at work acts as a sexual stimulus. The strongest feeling in their lives is the longing for beauty, – for pretty clothes, ribbons, and shoes. And their wages are barely enough for existence!

'It is generally admitted that the wages of women are not sufficient for the barest necessities of life. To those to whom we say so glibly, "Work and you would not need to go on the streets," work means toiling from early morning till late at night, at the expense of health, and then not earning enough to keep body and soul together. What can a girl do to supplement her inadequate wages? To remain virtuous, they would require the strength of mind to look on unconcernedly while their vitality was being slowly sapped. The love of life is so strong, even in the beggar's breast, that he sacrifices morality before life itself;

so we cannot be surprised that the sweated girl prefers surrender (almost involuntary) to the certainty of starvation.'[1]

The girl's plight is still worse if she loses her situation and is confronted with the spectre of unemployment. She may be honestly willing to work, but of what use is this if she knocks only at closed doors? How terrible is hunger and how easy it is to satisfy it? One temptation is enough to put an end for ever to the possibility of a respectable life.[2]

The great majority of prostitutes are recruited from a class of women who desire to enjoy the pleasures of life without having to work for them. Passion for adornment, desire for pretty frocks and jewellery, envy of the more attractive life of those more fortunately circumstanced – all these play their part, and in addition, laziness and a dislike of work combined with an unrestrained love of pleasure. And since the most elementary condition of a happy care-free life is, according to feminine logic, the possession of pretty clothes, the price of a hat or a frock has frequently been the inducement to the first step. It is interesting to note that the majority of elaborately dressed courtesans come from those social classes which, in their young days, did not possess more than one dress and one miserable pair of shoes.

Domestic servants provide a large contingent of prostitutes. Standing for ever at the wash-tub, or cleaning rooms, while they see their mistress rushing from one pleasure to another, they are filled with the desire to live in the same way, and believe that the best way to achieve this is by prostitution. They too are women. Laziness, coquetry, passion for adornment, defective education, and bad example, all play their part.

Another important source from which the ranks of prostitution are recruited, consists of those girls who become victims of some light love affair and have no means of earning a living. They may be victims of a man who never really loved them! But really they are victims of their parents. The classic example is that of the young girl who is seduced and becomes pregnant. For weeks and weeks she hides her miserable secret until at last she finds the courage to tell her parents. She is cast out of her home; her self-respect is destroyed; if she is also deserted by her lover, she almost inevitably rushes into prostitution. In her de-

[1] Hügel, *Geschichte der Prostitution.*

[2] Editor's Note. – The author here exhibits the popular and dangerous fallacy that it is *easy* for a girl to make money by prostitution. Virtuous women are apt to lay the flattering unction to their souls that it is only their moral principles which prevent them from brilliant careers as courtesans. This is by no means true. Many attractive girls walk the streets for nights, or even weeks, on end, without securing a single client. As in all other professions, competition is keen, and success comes only to the exceptionally fortunate or exceptionally able.

spair she prostitutes herself even during the pregnancy; firstly in order to keep herself and her child, and secondly because she has come to regard the world as inhuman, and cherishes a sort of inexpressible grudge against herself and her pitiless parents who, forgetting their own youth and its sublime emotions, could do no better than to cast out their 'misbegotten child.' In order to illustrate this type of case, I cannot do better than to quote an account given in Forel's *The Sexual Question* communicated to him by a Mr. Wundsam of Zurich.

'A cousin of mine, who was at that time a Marine Officer in the Austrian service, once visited a brothel in Tunis with some companions. On his entrance, one of the girls uttered a cry and fled from the room, and would not come out again until she was sure that the gentlemen had left the premises. My cousin, who was interested, had found a reason for remaining hidden until the girl, thinking that she was safe, again appeared in the salon. To his astonishment he then recognised in her the daughter of a good middle-class family in his native town. Further concealment being impossible, he induced the girl to grant him an interview. After much difficulty he succeeded in eliciting her story. She had had an *affaire* with a lieutenant garrisoned in her home town, and finally gave herself to him. When she became aware of the inevitable result she told her lover, and he shortly after obtained a transfer to Trieste. The parents did not realise her condition immediately as, fearing her father's anger, she concealed it as long as possible by tight lacing. When the truth was discovered she was cast out of the home. She went to Trieste in the hope of finding help from her lover. There she met with her first cruel disillusionment. The gallant seducer said that he could neither marry nor support her, and tried, by offering her money, to induce her to leave Trieste and not worry him any further. In spite of her penniless condition, she indignantly refused the money. Having no means and being unable to go home she was obliged to seek a position. This was very difficult on account of the now advanced state of pregnancy. She went to a woman formerly employed as cook in her parents' home, who was now the wife of an hotel proprietor in Fiume. She confessed her condition and pleaded to be taken in. There, working in the hotel, she awaited her confinement. The child was born prematurely and did not live, and she herself was seriously ill for some months. The family sheltered her during her illness, but it was impossible for her to remain with them, as the position of waitress attending to rough sailors was repugnant to her. Through an agent who came frequently to the hotel, she obtained a situation with a good German family in Genoa, "where there would also be an opportunity of learning French and German." The "German family" proved to be a brothel. She escaped and came to Tunis. There she remained for a

year, almost stupefied by her fate, seeing no hope of ever achieving any other mode of life. Thus she met my cousin.

'The meeting brought her past life vividly before her and my cousin described the pitiful despair of the girl, who realised her position more acutely as a result of this unexpected encounter.

'He tried to cheer her, and promised to enlist the assistance of the Consulate in freeing her from her predicament. She refused this, however, dreading to return on account of the disgrace. Without her knowledge, my cousin communicated with her seducer, and put it to him as a man of honour that he should assume responsibility for her. He later regretted this step, for the letter was ignored, and he realised what species of gentlemen this cavalier was. He then communicated with a family he knew in Vienna, and arranged for her to be given a situation as governess. My cousin told the family only that the girl had been seduced, deserted, and cast forth by her family, and was in desperate need. He did not let them know fully to what depths she had sunk. He did this, he explained to me in answer to my criticism, because he feared that otherwise the prejudice against her would be insuperable and also because the girl's own pride would have made it impossible for her to accept the position. As it was, the girl at first refused to accept it, because she felt that she had sunk so low that she could never be regarded as respectable again. My cousin described the terrible conflict between her rising hope and the depressing consciousness of her position. It was only after much persuasion that he succeeded in convincing her that she could return. His efforts to free the girl from the brothel were made much more difficult by the fact that his purpose had to be concealed from the proprietor. If the object of his frequent visits had been guessed, she would have been sent to another establishment. His movements were watched suspiciously. He informed me that it is customary not to allow a girl to go with the same man too frequently, and the proprietor's suspicions are aroused if he notices that the visits are not for the usual purpose. Although he had offered to pay all her debts he finally succeeded in liberating her only by using the fact that he was an officer, and threatening to invoke the assistance of the authorities.

'In Vienna the girl was received in a friendly manner and my cousin did not see her again. For a long time after he left Tunis, where he had merely been spending his leave, he was at sea. At first the girl wrote quite regularly and told him gratefully of her new-found happiness and peace. Her employers liked her and treated her as one of the family. This was confirmed by the reports which he received from her mistress in response to his inquiries. However, his travels interrupted the correspondence and during the last three months be-

fore his return to Europe he had no news. When he returned to Pola he decided to pay a surprise visit to Vienna. He found that the girl was no longer with the family, and his own reception was somewhat chilly. He was reproached with having recommended a girl whom he knew to have been in a brothel. They had treated her with complete trust as if she were their own daughter and had nothing to complain of in her behaviour, but her past life had come to light by accident. While stopping with relatives in Trieste, the daughter of the house had become acquainted with a certain Captain N, and had become engaged to him. When the Captain came to Vienna to introduce himself to his prospective parents-in-law, he met and recognised the girl. She also appeared to recognise him, for she showed signs of a great shock and asked to be allowed to stay in her room. A few days after his departure came a letter from him in explanation. He said he felt it his duty to tell them something about the girl in the house, as he feared that his embarrassment on first seeing her had been noticed. He had known her slightly many years before; she was of good family but had fallen from virtue at an early age; he himself had met her in a cabaret in Trieste and had heard later on good authority that she was in a brothel in Tunis. He felt certain that they could not know of her previous history. His duty as the fiancê of their daughter forbade him to keep silent because it was a matter of very great importance with what sort of people a young lady came into daily contact. My cousin was given the letter to read. Captain N. was the lieutenant who had seduced the girl. In his letter he expressed the hope that they would regard the poor creature as an unfortunate deserving of pity.

'The girl did not ask for a reason for her dismissal, and refused to take a month's wages. Nothing had been heard of her since and all inquiries proved fruitless.

'My cousin did not succeed in saving the poor girl, but he was at least able to save the daughter of the house from marriage with this rare specimen of a captain.'

This story shows that the reasons usually given for prostitution such as laziness, love of pleasure, and so on, are not always valid. The mental impulse which first leads the girl to prostitution is the most important factor. Once this step has been taken the rest follows automatically. Once a girl has lost all hope of improvement, then only the bad qualities in her come to light, and the chief of these is dislike for work. But what else can we expect from a girl who has been badly educated if she is cast out of her home as the result of having 'fallen.' Of what use to a girl in this situation, after a life of idleness and luxury, is all the painfully acquired knowledge of current fashions, or more or less indifferent musical accomplishments? What is the use of all

the acquirements of finishing schools, which usually teach nothing but Sport? How can such a girl suddenly earn her living? But even if she has studied some subject thoroughly so that she is competent in it, who is going to employ a 'fallen' girl? Who would challenge criticism by giving employment to a pregnant woman? Who is even willing to defy public prejudice sufficiently to keep a girl in this condition, if only out of compassion, at least until her confinement?

In addition to the reasons already mentioned, there is also what we might call compulsory prostitution through poverty. But the moralists can never admit this compulsion. For no matter how bad social conditions or how low women's wages, they argue, there is not a single woman who can be driven to prostitution as the result of poverty alone, if she has sufficient power of self-control. Poverty and hunger may reduce a woman to the lowest depths, but not *necessarily* to prostitution. It is only when, in addition to this, the woman has a dislike of work and that love of adornment which is innate in the sex, that she resorts to prostitution. The deciding factor is much more frequently the desire to have pretty clothes than to save herself from hunger. Thus we see the fallacy of some of the reasons usually given for the adoption of prostitution.

A factor which deserves mention is that of bad example – especially the glamour which appears to surround the life led by other prostitutes. Most prostitutes apparently – but only apparently – lead a life which is nothing but pleasure and enjoyment. In truth the shadow on the lives of these women is terribly dark when the sun of the outside world ceases to shine on them. All their lightheartedness, happiness, and freedom from care, are but dust and ashes when they think of a life of respectability.

Most of the treatises on the subject refer to a number of occupations which apparently predispose to prostitution. But is it really true that every waitress and ballet-girl must inevitably become a prostitute? Does this not happen only when there is bad example and lack of character? Is it not the age we live in, with luxury and appetite as its gods – in short, is it not men who encourage prostitution in these occupations? Proof of this was afforded by the war and post-war years. How many women rushed to prostitution when the army arrived at a halting-place, especially in the country districts, and the troops sought for satisfaction of their long-repressed sexual desires? The statistics of all the belligerent countries show an enormous increase in prostitution during the war. The wave receded somewhat for a time, but it then increased again, especially in Austria, where the economic conditions caused a great influx of foreigners. The statistics

of the Vienna police show that, whereas in 1916 only 48 women were registered for the first time, there were 538 in 1919. These figures speak for themselves.

It is now necessary to say something of the characteristics of prostitutes as a class. There are unfortunately only too many people who deny any character at all to prostitutes. This point of view is to some extent justified, when we remember that the life led by prostitutes, and the environment in which they live, are such as literally to stifle all the impulses of normal human nature. Many scientists compare the prostitute to an animal which vegetates, lacks all capacity for logic and reason, and is neither able nor willing to give any account of itself.

It is true that the prostitute does not think, for thought would make her realise the misery of her existence, and one of her characteristics is that she refuses to be unhappy, even for a moment. In order to get a better idea of the character traits of the prostitute, I took the opportunity of coming into personal contact with them and also attended their examinations in the office of the *Sittenpolizei*. I formed the impression that the characteristics of prostitutes conform so much to type, that one could write a 'psychology of the prostitute.'

The most fundamental characteristic is mendacity. This feature first appears when the prostitute is asked for the reasons which led to her adopting this life. Again and again one hears the same romances, in which seduction plays the most important part. No prostitute will ever admit that she herself is responsible for her degradation. Usually the seducer is said to be a prince, duke, or some other exalted personage, and the blame is always attributed to him. She tells of her seduction and the birth of an illegitimate child, the death of the father or the refusal of his family to permit him to marry her – all quite fictitious! Equally popular is the story of a romantic elopement told with all details. Then there is the tale of harsh parents who unjustly cast out their innocent daughter. Every prostitute claims to have been well brought up in good circumstances, even though she was born in the peasant's hut, or entered prostitution from domestic service. The parents are frequently elevated to the ranks of the aristocracy; for the better her name the better her clientele and hence her price! Her vanity often goes so far that she speaks of her relations with important personages and her great influence over them. Why should she not say that she is about to marry some important personage when the papers tell her that such marriages do, as a matter of fact, take place. Vanity, passion for adornment, and an overwhelming desire to please and the resulting habit of always trying to attract as much attention in the street as possible – these may be called the 'stock in trade' of the prostitute.

These qualities are just as essential for success in this profession as the craving for drink and love of money and dissoluteness. Indeed, until she has acquired all these characteristics, and lost all trace of decency, she will not gain the approval of the men. But the prostitute feels that her whole life is nothing but deceit and vanity; she feels that she is out of place in her fine clothes and in the society of better and more refined people. The self-distrust naturally brings about a distrust of the rest of the world, and this is fostered and strengthened by the contempt with which she is treated.

In his *Moralstatistik in ihrer Bedeutung fur eine Sozialethik*, A. von Oettingen gives a short survey of the character of the prostitute. He writes: 'Among the thousands of women who embrace prostitution the reasons given are, as one would expect, very diverse, but there are certain features common to all. Almost without exception they have been seduced before becoming prostitutes. The chief causes appear to be laziness and a passion for adornment, together with poverty and mental deficiency. Parent-Duchâtelet gives a statistical table of the motives of 5,183 Parisian prostitutes, whose histories he had studied in detail. Nearly half of them had been deserted by lovers; the other half had taken up this life on account of poverty, loss of their parents, or general helplessness. Very few had adopted it from nobler motives, e.g. to keep their aged parents, younger relations, or their own children. It is noteworthy that symptoms of moral deficiency are seldom absent. They are extremely dirty. "These beings," says Parent, "do not mind dirt and squalor, and only bother to keep their outer clothes clean; nearly all, even the most elegant, will be found, on examination, to have vermin in their hair." Most of them eat, drink, gamble, and dance to excess; nine-tenths of them have no occupation and simply do nothing; they are distinguished by frivolity, lying, and dissipation; they also have certain peculiar habits like tattooing and adopting false names; they are addicted to sexual perversions and spend most of their time wandering about aimlessly.'

Parent-Duchâtelet was one of the first to give a thorough history of Prostitution. In his *Sitten-verderbnis des weiblichen Geschlechts in Paris* he writes: 'If one were only to observe these women in the streets and note their defiant, shameless, and indecent expression, one might think that they regard their profession like anyone else, that they have no objection to it and indeed are rather proud of it.' In the presence of friends, and particularly of young men who like a free-and-easy jocular conversation, they will boast of their knowledge of life, and reproach their companions with lack of experience, calling them 'straight-tarts.' But it is not possible to discover the real heart and

mind of these women under such circumstances. When they are in prison, or in trouble, especially if one knows how to gain their confidence by kindness, one finds out what really goes on in their minds, and realises that the burden of the shame presses heavily upon them. They are well aware of the evil of their lives and know that they are rightly regarded with contempt. They are only happy among themselves or in the company of other poor wretches. They are uncomfortable in the company of intelligent and respectable people and feel quite out of their element. The sight of families, mothers, and respectable women is unbearable to them; they enjoy insulting them in order to get some revenge for the contempt which they themselves receive from respectable people. In the practice of their profession they may appear impudent and shameless, but there are many who under different circumstances are most anxious to disguise what they are. For this purpose they are conspicuously quiet in their demeanour, and when they come to the examination-room for official inspection, they do everything to escape notice. Often they slip into the room quite furtively. All inspectors have noticed this.

'It is also observed that those who belong to good families usually resort to a remote district where they are not likely to meet any of their former acquaintances. Generally speaking, there is nothing they fear more than meeting with people who knew them when they were respectable. I have known of several in hospital who became ill purely as the result of a shock of this sort, and later I shall mention the case of one who became insane as the result of meeting a fellow-countryman.

'They are all conscious of their depravity, and are disgusted with themselves. Indeed the contempt they feel for themselves is much greater than that felt towards them by respectable people. They are always lamenting their fall, and make plans, and even efforts, to escape from this life, but they all come to nothing. What makes them despair is the consciousness that they are regarded as the scum of human society. Anyone who understands human nature will be able to imagine what a depressing state of mind this is. Nothing is more essential to human beings than the respect of their fellows. It is bad enough to be ignored by the rest of the world, but to be despised, hated, and loathed!

'It might be thought that the disparagement by the world might arouse their pride and vanity – faults which they possess in a marked degree. It is true that if one offends them in this way, one can do nothing with them; but if one is friendly and sympathetic, and gives them a hope of returning to a decent life, their hearts leap for joy.

'One of the most admirable character traits of these unfortunates is their mutual fellow-feeling. In times of misfortune they always help one another. If one of them falls ill, the others will hasten to give her all the assistance they can. They will take her to the hospital and visit her regularly. They club together to provide clothes and shoes for one of their number when she is discharged from prison. They will deprive themselves of necessaries although they know quite well that the girl they are helping is untrustworthy and ungrateful. This characteristic is universal. It is probably due to the feeling that they are social outcasts and can expect sympathy from none except their own kind. But they will sometimes spend all they possess to help a complete stranger who is in need. I have been told that many of them send a loaf of bread weekly or even daily to some old and distressed people in their neighbourhood.'

Although this work of Parent-Duchâtelet was written in France at the end of the nineteenth century, the characteristics he enumerates are still true to-day, and many other admirable traits must be added to the list. It is incredible with what love and devotion they cling to the illegitimate child who has perhaps been the original cause of their disgrace. I have known prostitutes who starved themselves to provide food for their child, and girls who, when driven from their parents' home and forced into prostitution, have made sacrifices in order to support these very parents when they were in want. It seems as if a remnant of human kindliness still persisted in some corner of the prostitute's heart. From this there springs that great 'caste' feeling which is also characteristic. If one of them falls ill, all her friends usually do more for her than her 'lover.' Wolfgang Sorge mentions in his *Geschichte der Prostitution* that in Berlin in 1914, an effort was made to form a prostitutes' union which would pay a pound a week to each member in times of trouble. The entrance fee was one shilling and sixpence and the weekly subscription one shilling. This solidarity is exhibited every day in the 'offensive and defensive alliance' which exists among them. It frequently happens that a prostitute arrested by the police is freed by her companions after a struggle.

I said above that the prostitute meets with men's approval only if she has lost completely all feelings of decency. This is easily explained. In prostitutes men seek for physical attractiveness together with expertness in sexual matters. The inner life of the prostitute interests the man as little as the inner life of his hatter; from the one he buys a hat, from the other her body. It is true that he judges her by her wantonness and indecency in behaviour and speech, but the man of

the world knows that he will never arouse real sentiment in a prostitute and she on her side hides her inner self. She is only successful in so far as she has attained the typical qualities of her kind; for it is only for these that she is valued both by men and by her fellows.

Prostitutes are divided into grades in accordance with dress, education, and clientele, much as in Ancient Greece. The grade also depends on the place of residence and the method employed of getting in contact with clients. The ordinary prostitute of the slums stands much lower, both in the eyes of her fellows and of men, than the grand courtesan, even though her personal appearance may be more attractive. It is perhaps only because she did not understand the arts of lying, boasting, dressing, and indecency, that she has remained a 'suburban street walker' and must give herself to every soldier or drayman in a pothouse, whilst her more astute sister, elegantly clad in silk and velvet, dines in the best restaurants with her cavalier. Her earnings, and hence the degree of luxury she can afford, depend on the grade to which she belongs. The business premises may be, on the one hand the miserable furnished apartment full of rubbish, or on the other a luxurious flat replete with every comfort. The very highest class may even choose their clients; they do not take 'anyone.' Only the 'real gentleman' who has already spent freely in the restaurant or cabaret is favoured and then he has to pay a very high fee for the privileges of love for one night.

Prostitution was formerly confined to certain streets, districts, or even houses. The prostitute went 'on the beat,' and almost every large city still has such a well-known 'beat'; e.g. Friedrichstrasse in Berlin, Kärntnerstrasse in Vienna, Montmarte in Paris, Altmarkt in Dresden, Andrassy utca. in Budapest, and Regent Street in London. But there has been a change in recent years. Instead of going 'on the beat' the majority of prostitutes of all classes now visit bars, cafés, and music-halls, and wait there until a man approaches their table and commences negotiations. The subsequent proceedings take place either in their own homes or at one of the many hotels which specialise in this sort of traffic. There has been a notable decrease in the number of street-walkers in all cities in recent years. The habits of prostitutes are subject to many changes of this sort. They are influenced by the seasons and also by the habits of the population of the various cities. There has recently been a great increase in the number of cabarets which are surreptitiously rendezvous for the aristocracy of the demi-monde and their clients. We also notice how prostitution adapts itself to the habits of a community, especially in those cities which have a reputation for being 'religious.' It may

be the influence of the clergy both on the people and on police regulations which is responsible for diminishing the number of street-walkers in these cities. But I rather think it is due to the habits of the people, since an influx of foreigners always brings the prostitutes into the streets again, whilst in cities which do not receive many foreign visitors, street prostitution continues to decline. The contrast between North and South Germany is interesting in this connection.

Berlin, which is notorious for its immorality and insatiable appetite for new sexual thrills, has seen an enormous increase in the number of street prostitutes in recent years. But in South Germany, e.g. Munich, public street prostitution has almost disappeared. The Northerner seeks for the expert in sexual pleasure and finds this in the public prostitute, but the Southerner prefers a more comfortable, easy-going *liaison* with a shop-girl, waitress, or cashier, who may, or may not, work during the day. One may safely assert that almost every man in Munich has his 'regular girl.' This has one advantage over the looser relations prevailing in the North, since such relations more frequently lead to marriage. In Munich the public prostitutes have to rely on visitors to the town, and that these do not provide a very good livelihood is shown by the diminution in the numbers of street-walkers. In Leipzig, Berlin, and Hamburg, there is a continuous increase in the number of public registered prostitutes and a steady increase in venereal disease.

The public registered prostitute carries on a definite profession and we should expect that she should have a certain number of professional characteristics. Thus, most prostitutes drink to excess, regard the night-time as their 'working day,' spend the day either doing nothing or sleeping, reading pornographic books or lurid stories of crime, or playing cards. It is a miserable existence when one reflects that the cost of clothes and house rent are considerable, and money cannot be regarded as easily earned which is obtained by offering one's body to every chance comer.

Some writers have asserted that excessive sexual appetite is the cause of prostitution. But any investigation of the life of prostitutes will soon show that, while eroticism may have had something to do with the first 'fall,' it soon disappears entirely. As a rule, the prostitute experiences no feeling at all during coitus carried out in the exercise of her profession. She does not experience the least sexual excitement, though it is true that she frequently simulates it very well. This is a mere 'trick of the trade.' The man does not only seek satisfaction of his own erotic feelings in coitus; he also desires to evoke pleasure in the woman, and if the prostitute does not know how

to simulate this pleasure, she soon acquires the reputation of being 'cold' and her income will drop. The prostitute experiences real emotion, true passion, with only one man – her 'bully,' 'friend,' 'souteneur,' 'ponce.' This creature enjoys various names in different countries, and is at once the lover, protector, and exploiter of the prostitute. He is one of the characteristic features of prostitution. Originally a lover, he soon begins to squander the money she earns, and plays the part of solicitor for her clients. 'Poncing' and crime are closely related, so that one may venture to affirm that there is no 'ponce' who is not an habitual criminal, and no habitual criminal who is not a 'ponce.'

The last point about the professional prostitute to be discussed is her fate in later life. The majority fall early victims to venereal disease acquired in the practice of the profession – mainly syphilis. In addition to these 'occupational diseases' (so to speak), the lowering of vitality resulting from their mode of life – drinking, living always in a close, smoke-laden atmosphere, exposure to all weathers – usually predisposes them to tuberculosis, anæmia, and similar diseases. If a prostitute reaches the age when all charm for the male sex has departed, and has not had the foresight to save sufficient to open a sweet-shop, perfumery, or something of the sort, then she probably takes up a profession which is closely related to her former one. She becomes a procuress, brothel-keeper, or landlady to other prostitutes; or she may become an agent of the 'White Slave traffic,' which flourishes especially in the seaports. If these avenues are not open to her, then the once fêted fashionable prostitute may become a lavatory attendant or something of the sort.

It sometimes happens, however, that she finds among her clients a man who has a serious and deep affection for her and marries her. It may appear astonishing, but it is quite characteristic that ex-prostitutes make the most faithful and devoted of wives. On account of the changes in her genital organs due to her profession, she rarely becomes a mother. But if she does, and she should happen to have a daughter, she will show a great sense of responsibility as a mother, and will take great care with the education of her daughter, protect her from all temptation, and from all the terrible calamities which she herself knows from bitter experience.

At the beginning of this discussion I said that I would accept the current definition of prostitution, but maintained that it applied only to *public professional prostitution*. Much more insidious, widespread and serious in its effects, is *secret prostitution*.

By secret prostitution I mean the prostitution which conceals itself from the light of day, but which is universal and practised by

old and young. The elements of payment and promiscuity are so much in the background and so skilfully veiled, that the definition already given does not appear to cover it, and I therefore propose to modify the definition of prostitution as follows: Any act of sexual intercourse in which the woman is actuated by motives of material advantage, whether directly or indirectly, is prostitution. Promiscuity is not essential. Payment by a single man stamps the act as prostitution.

This definition includes secret as well as open prostitution. In the latter the direct material motive is prominent and the woman openly adopts the profession; her body constitutes her working capital, and prostitution is her chief occupation. In the former case, prostitution is usually a side-line. The motive may not be actually money, but one of the many luxuries which are obtained from the lover without having to work for them. In many cases it is difficult to draw the line between the two, especially as secret prostitution has become so general that it almost seems as if a huge percentage of women were addicted to it.

Nevertheless, we shall attempt to draw the line between them. The border-line cases call for a still further definition, and I shall give this at the end of the book.

The words 'prostitute' and 'harlot' will evoke the indignation of every woman, but it is the very women who recoil in horror from such words, who are ready to give credence to any excuse for the many women who practise secret prostitution. From the ethical point of view, however, they are harlots, and harlots they remain. I might go so far as to say that the street-walker who makes no pretence about it, is more admirable, despite her many bad features, than that enormous contingent of women who carry on prostitution under the cloak of respectability. Let us place the two side by side! Here we have the starving prostitute, tramping the lonely streets in all weathers, glancing provokingly at every man, in order to gain her livelihood. There we have the respectable 'grass-widow,' exquisitely gowned, in her comfortable boudoir, who has just accepted from the hands of her 'friend' a handsome piece of jewellery as the price of a sweet hour of dalliance. On the one side a woman who is stamped as a pariah, on the other the 'respectable' woman who deceives both herself and the world – the secret harlot.

We spoke of prostitution as a 'side-line.' This expression is frequently used in books dealing with the question, but it is fundamentally unsound. Waitresses, ballet-girls, and actresses do not regard prostitution as a side-line, as a subsidiary profession; it is rather that the two intimately related occupations exist side by side. To-day every woman is sufficiently well-informed to know that one

of the occupations just mentioned is not, in itself, sufficient to support her, and that a respectable life is out of the question if she adopts one of them.[1] If she does, she is deliberately taking up prostitution. Of course she does not intend to become a real prostitute under police control, since she is going to carry on this profession beneath the cloak afforded by her nominal occupation. She thus deceives both herself and others – but the world is very willing to be deceived! For although all her acquaintances know that the greater part of her income is obtained from a 'friend,' or perhaps even 'friends,' they would never dream of calling her a harlot openly. Her nominal occupation is accepted and the other matter is tacitly ignored. We may say that the whole of society conspires to maintain the fiction that such occupations are respectable. The manager of a music-hall knows quite well that the chorus-girls cannot live on their salaries, certainly not on the scale which is demanded in such occupations. And all men know quite well that such women are fair game and may be had at a price. When the Opera director engages a singer and inserts a clause in the contract that she must pay for her own costumes (which must be in the latest fashion and of the most expensive materials) he assumes that she already has, or will soon have, a wealthy 'friend' to meet the bill. The idea that she should live on her salary is never contemplated.

The character of the woman is an important factor in secret, as in open, prostitution. Bad example, the temptations which meet a girl who is working to support herself, the eroticising stimulus of fashionable life, the passion to be better dressed than her fellows – all these play their part here too.

Secret prostitution has practically become a matter of 'fashion.' In recent years there has been a striking increase in moral laxity, so that secret prostitution is not now regarded as a very serious matter. In former ages – the so-called 'age of gallantry' – the rank of mistress was the privilege of a few very influential persons who were famous, for instance Madame Pompadour, Madame du Barry and others – and to-day this very elegant type of secret prostitution commands approval, not to say admiration. We find society countenancing quite openly what formerly was done only in secret, if it was done at all. The 'mistress' of former days is now the 'friend' and it has come to be accepted as quite *de rigueur* to go about in public with these 'friends.' Men are even proud to be seen with the well-known courtesans, and to possess them at least once, no matter what the price. It has become a matter of good form! Such women, by their

[1] Editor's Note. – This appears to be somewhat exaggerated or at any rate does not apply to the conditions existing in England.

influence over important persons, mould the destinies of nations to-day, just as they used to do in France. This was illustrated very frequently during the war; such women were all-powerful and every one sought for the 'influence' of these 'ladies.' In all important social affairs, the great courtesans are prominent; clad in costly gowns, bedecked with diamonds and pearls, they provoke the envy and jealousy of all other women. If a woman is already wavering, it is not surprising that she is finally seduced by the glamour of these women's lives. She cannot resist the lure of distinction, admiration, and luxury. She means only to yield once, but once the first step is taken, the rest follows. Envy and subservience to fashion are responsible for leading many a woman from the path of virtue. The famous courtesan of former days is frequently met with to-day in the *liaison*, and the former 'gallant' is the modern 'friend of the family.' The friend of the family is, of course, the friend of the wife – the eternal triangle; he shows his appreciation of the friendship by the present of a new gown or a piece of jewellery, but soon forgets his friendship when he finds a more attractive lady elsewhere.

The married woman who deceives her husband from motives of personal advantage is really prostituting herself, since she takes money or its equivalent. But she is also a prostitute even if she takes nothing, for she still allows her husband to support her, and occasionally, simulating love, permits him intercourse. She is therefore prostituting herself with her own husband. The 'friend' for love; the poor cuckold to keep her. We must emphasise this idea of prostitution in relation to the husband. It exists in every case of 'common-sense' marriage in which a young girl, thirsting for life, is sold to some dissipated but wealthy old man. Her body has been sold, since by the 'sanction' of marriage the husband has a right to it. The price is the cost of maintenance and the prospect of inheritance. It is only a matter of time before the third party makes his appearance.

Secret prostitution among single women differs from that among married women. If it occurs in connection with some such occupation as those already described, the situation in unequivocal. But what of the temporary *liaison*?

The only form of sexual union sanctioned by the State is marriage. Therefore any other sort of sexual union is illegitimate and, as everything contrary to law is avoided by all decent people, the *liaison* should also be condemned and avoided. But in practice it is not so. It is true that in many cases, at least, one of the parties hopes for legitimation of the relation by marriage. But even where marriage has been promised, there is frequently no real intention of it. If the

relation springs from an honourable intention to marry, then it cannot be regarded as remotely approaching prostitution, even though the man may support the woman. It is merely a pre-marital relation, and being so, no matter how terrible it may appear to the moralists, it is not illegitimate. But any other sort of sexual relation, even those which at first were due to love, must be included in the category of secret prostitution, if we understand this conception rightly. For there is nothing to prevent two such people from dissolving the union sooner or later, if another person attracts them more strongly. It is the lack of any tie, the complete absence of any responsibility, which justify us in regarding such relations as secret prostitution. This view may provoke opposition, but let the reader reflect how astonished people are if a man so far forgets himself as to marry his old mistress instead of honouring a 'respectable' young girl with his hand. There are few people who do not feel justified in turning up their noses at such marriages. It is interesting to observe that it is especially women who are astonished that a man should marry a 'person of that sort'; it is women who refuse to meet such a woman when she is married, because for years 'she was his mistress.' Why should there be this objection if the *liaison* is not regarded as wrong?

Either we must maintain the principle that all extra-marital intercourse, whether for payment or not, whether promiscuous or not, is to be regarded as prostitution, or else abandon it altogether. It is impossible to make exceptions of individual cases on account of the particular circumstances, or of public opinion. Our attitude on this question must remain quite unequivocal as long as there is a stigma on the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child. If the world is going to scorn the unmarried mother it must have the courage and consistency to frown on every form of extra-marital intercourse. Note that we say extra-marital – not pre-marital – intercourse.

Whether the current conception of morality and ethics has any justification is quite another question.

According to general experience, the usual *liaison* is simply secret prostitution. It may begin from love and friendship between two people who, for the time being, are not able to marry, but it degenerates into definite prostitution and money becomes more important than love. It is exceptional for marriage to follow. This happens only when the relation was based on real love from the outset, or when the woman becomes pregnant and the man is honourable enough to be willing to save the woman and the child from disgrace.

An important factor in estimating the value of such a relation is its duration. This is the only criterion of the depth of the emotions

involved and will therefore determine whether the relation will degenerate into prostitution or not. A *liaison* which persists for many years and in which the mutual feelings remain unchanged, despite the vicissitudes of life, cannot by any means be regarded as prostitution. It is rather to be regarded as a pre-marital relation and is essentially marriage in spite of the condemnation of society. The complete confidence, the constant fidelity, and the long duration disarm all moral criticism, even that which insists that all extra-marital intercourse is wrong.

A long-standing relation built up on such fidelity must be respected, even though the man supports the woman economically, for in the absence of some other way of earning her living, she must be supported. But the moment a woman, even in such a relation, accepts support of the man from laziness, convenience, or some other purely material motive, then the situation is immediately altered. The woman takes money and spends it frivolously on trinkets, pretty clothes, or other vanities. She believes she has a right to do this because she gives herself to the man. But no matter what society thinks of the matter, this is essentially the logic of the prostitute.

A really moral woman who is actuated by love alone, will do without everything rather than sell herself. The greater a woman's moral character and the deeper her love, the more intense is this feeling.

If a *liaison* has lasted for a long time and the love is genuine, then both parties will desire nothing more earnestly than the legitimation of their relation. But if this intensity of feeling is lacking even on one side – and this is usually on the side of the man – then the relation sooner or later comes to an end. Both parties seek new attractions elsewhere. The way to prostitution is open.

The element of prostitution is even more crudely shown in those *liaisons* which, from the beginning, were only intended to be temporary. Whether or not the element of payment was prominent, the absence of any deep feeling of oneness [1] is alone sufficient to justify us in regarding such relations as prostitution. It is interesting to observe the differences which exist between the various classes of the population, higher and lower, urban and rural, in respect of these temporary relations.

Among the richer classes such an affair is never openly admitted. Sometimes the woman is introduced as the fiancée, sometimes as a cousin or niece, sometimes as a 'friend.' Although the last is regarded with suspicion, the first is usually sufficient to remove all reproach

[1] See Note on p. 137.

even in the eyes of the parties themselves. Kisch in his interesting book *Die sexuelle Untreue der Frau*, gives the following description of this sort of relation: 'A free temporary *liaison* between young people based on mutual attraction, sexual affinity, tenderness, and desire, without undue stress on the pecuniary element, is really, from the physiological and ethical standpoint, the most ideal form of sexual union, since it has the glamour of youth and sexual desire. It is really a marriage without the blessing of the Church or the sanction of the State. It should be regarded as a border-line case, and should not be called by harsh names; but on the other hand it must not be identified with real marriage. . . . Marriage stands for constancy; the *liaison* is essentially transient; the emotions of marriage are deeper and look towards the future, whereas in a *liaison* impulse is predominant and only the pleasure of the moment is thought of. In marriage the child is a strong bond of union between man and wife; but the birth of a child is fatal to the *liaison*. The passing of the years strengthens the union between man and wife; but sooner or later the *liaison* comes to an end.'

The first sentences of this quotation sound suspiciously like a justification of this relationship. Though we may recognise the demands of youth for sexual activity and refuse to adopt the standpoint of a narrow and bigoted morality, we cannot go so far as to glorify this sort of relation, as Kisch does, when he refuses to consider it as prostitution. It is true that every temporary *liaison* is a border-line case, and for that very reason must be judged rigorously, for it is usually the first step towards prostitution.

Among the poorer classes this sort of relation is somewhat modified. The 'friend' or fiancée is replaced by the 'girl' or 'intended'; the relation is described by saying that 'she goes with him,' or 'he goes with her.' Although the intercourse may be less restrained in these classes than in higher social circles, and although the morality is lower and there is much less refinement, nevertheless such relations much more frequently lead to marriage than do those among richer classes, especially if the girl become pregnant. The poorer classes demand less from life in the way of luxury and pleasure, and so there are not so many obstacles to the legitimation of the union; both parties help to earn and are content with little.

There is again a marked difference to be noted in the country. I have already mentioned that the life of peasants is much more free morally than that of town-dwellers. The unconstrained association of the sexes at work in the house, in the field, in the barn, in the hay-loft, naturally leads to a freedom in sexual matters. As soon as she has arrived at the age of puberty, the peasant girl

begins sexual relations with some vigorous lad. At first it is secret – like all love – but before long the whole village knows at whose window the youth places his ladder in the evenings. Though the father with his stick may come on the scene unexpectedly, they do not desist. A child is actually desired since it will smooth the way to marriage, although the myrtle wreath which the bride wears at the ceremony may appear somewhat out of place. Here every element of prostitution is lacking. Money payment is out of the question; and it is impossible to change one's partner in the same village. This form of sexual union cannot be described as even a border-line case of prostitution, especially as, in some districts, it is really a social institution – a sort of trial marriage.

It is only the allurements of the town which cause the country wench to become a prostitute.

We next turn to concubinage, that institution which, as we have already noted, flourished among the Greeks and Romans, as also among the ancient Teutons. In all cases it was regarded as an illegitimate extra-marital sex relation and the concubine had no claims against her master; nor could her children inherit. The institution prevailed for many centuries, but the religious doctrines, especially those of the Catholic Church, put an end to it. Toleration gave way to stringent laws against it. Concubinage did not, however, cease entirely.

Concubinage means a cohabitation of two persons in the same household, in which the woman is completely supported by the man. It approximates to prostitution, since the motive on the side of the woman is that of economic support, and it is a form of sexual union which is without sanctions by State or Church. Also, because the idea of marriage is wanting and sooner or later the relation comes to an end. There are exceptions to this last rule in which, usually as a consequence of an impending childbirth, marriage takes place, or other cases in which, even without marriage, the relation lasts till death. But as exceptions only serve to prove the rule, we must provisionally class concubinage as a border-line case of prostitution. The Criminal Code of Prussia takes this view since, in Paragraph 180, it imposes a penalty on any landlord who affords shelter to a couple practising this form of immorality.

Let us review the chief reasons or rather excuses which lead two persons to form such a relation. The most usual excuse is the impossibility of marriage, because of some obstacle arising from the State law, the Church law, or otherwise. We cannot recognise the validity of such an excuse because it is not justified in fact, even in the case of the indissoluble Catholic marriage, which is the instance

most frequently adduced. We continually find evidence that, quite apart from the difficulties in the way of dissolution or dispensation, there have been other reasons for entering into the relationship, such as an advantage to one of the parties. If people really love, are genuinely moral, and seriously desire to legitimate their cohabitation, ways and means can always be found. This assertion remains true so long as there is such a thing as a Hungarian marriage, a morganatic marriage, or a change of religion, to effect the object.

We must then regard concubinage as an illegitimate form of cohabitation. So far as the world in general goes, it may appear to be justified by the obstacles in the way of marriage; but it is really due to the unwillingness of the parties to take the trouble of circumventing these obstacles. This may be due to a desire for comfort, to indifference, or to some extent to irresponsibility. I say *comfort*, since the two obtain sexual gratification without the responsibilities of a legal marriage; *indifference* because they pay no attention to the views of the world although they usually try to conceal the illegitimacy of the relation. But the gravest objection is on the score of *irresponsibility*, because such a union seldom remains without offspring. These children will have to pay all their lives for the irresponsibility and thoughtlessness of their parents. This is of course quite unjust. Even though we might sympathise with ethics in condemning the mother, who knew that the *liaison* was wrong, and was not obliged to enter it, we must condemn the laws and scourge the folly of society, which hold innocent children responsible for the thoughtlessness of their parents. The prejudice against illegitimate children is as irrational as national or religious prejudice. But a child can free itself from the disadvantages due to the latter when it has become its own master, whereas against the stain of illegitimacy he or she is powerless.

Another type of border-line cases is to be found in what is called 'Bohemian life.' This term is applied to the cohabitation of young artists with models, shop-girls, milliners, etc. This is a species of concubinage, without any legal sanction; married life without a marriage ceremony; temporary, and based purely on sexual desire. Although enjoying a sort of romantic halo, this sort of life must also be condemned as a form of secret prostitution.

In all civilised countries, secret prostitution in the forms described will be found to some extent and is the chief problem of all social reformers. Statesmen, philosophers, hygienists, and doctors wage ceaseless warfare against this hydra, but all in vain. Victory will never be won because the sexual demands of humanity will never cease, and moral control can never become sufficiently powerful to master

these desires. It has been proved beyond all doubt that it is secret prostitution which provides the great majority of venereal patients.

From this point of view alone a campaign against secret prostitution is justified, and therefore all sexologists are concerned with ways and means of combating it. Formerly it was thought that police regulation and medical inspection were the key to the problem. But these have failed, and are indeed impracticable. It is impossible to establish regulation and penalties for secret prostitution, because there is not a police organisation in the world capable of discovering its many secret forms, and moreover, because the legal measures necessary for such purposes would be open to grave objections on other grounds. The campaign should concentrate on the consequences of prostitution in the shape of venereal disease and ignore the general question of prostitution. In addition to this, it is essential that the bitter cry of the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child, for social justice, should at last be heard. Legislation must provide that the unmarried mother and illegitimate child shall have definite legal rights, including the right of inheritance. Men would regard extra-marital intercourse very much more seriously than they do at present if they knew that 'bad luck' could not be disposed of by paying a trifling allowance for maintenance, but that the child so born would, throughout its life, have the same legal rights as one born in wedlock. Men would soon become more careful, and thus one of the great causes of secret prostitution would be removed.

As for the problem of venereal disease, there are two profitable methods of attack. The first is to provide for the compulsory treatment of venereal disease in both men and women. The second – and this seems to me to be the more important – is to disseminate widely accurate information on the terrible consequences of venereal infection. The fight against venereal disease should be the *only* method of dealing officially with prostitution.

The efforts of eminent men in other countries bear witness that this method of approach is already being adopted. I give below a Bill introduced by Dr. Struve into the Parliament of Prussia.

No. 1823. PARLIAMENT OF PRUSSIA. RECOMMENDATION OF COMMITTEE No. 10 (SOCIAL WELFARE). MOVED BY DR. STRUVE.

'The Constitutent National Assembly of Prussia shall decree:

'The State Government shall urge the Imperial Government to undertake a campaign against venereal diseases and the regulation of

prostitution, and accordingly shall lay before them a Bill providing for the following matters:

'(1) *Clinics.* A number of clinics shall be established for the purpose of supervision over venereal disease throughout the Empire.

'(2) *Bureau of Surveillance.* Police regulation of prostitution shall be abolished. A special bureau shall be instituted for combating venereal disease and for the surveillance of prostitution, which shall be quite distinct from the ordinary police. It shall contain Medical Officers and Female Welfare Workers trained in Social Hygiene.

'(3) *Obligatory Treatment.* The treatment of venereal diseases shall be obligatory as proposed by the Reichstag Committee for Social Welfare.

'(4) *Compulsory Notification.* Every case of venereal disease shall be notified to the Public Health Officer, without disclosing the name of the patient. The Health Officer shall keep a record so that if necessary the patient's name can be ascertained by reference to the doctor's visiting book.

'(5) *Instruction by Doctors.* Every person who examines or treats a patient suffering from venereal disease shall instruct him or her in the nature of the disease and the risks of infection and draw his or her attention to the penalties provided in Section (3) of the Imperial Law of 11 December 1918. If the patient is below the age of 17 years this instruction shall be given to the guardian. The patient shall also be referred to the civil law obligation to compensate for injury done by infection. A pamphlet shall be issued for the purpose of this instruction.

'(6) *Right to Treatment.* Provision shall be made for general free treatment with precautions against abuse. The costs will be debited to the National Exchequer without any counterclaim against the Local Authority. The service shall be provided in such a way as to avoid any atmosphere of charity.

'(7) *Rules for Treatment.* Treatment of venereal disease without personal examination of the patient shall be prohibited. Canvassing for patients by doctors shall be prohibited. Advertisements offering, even in a veiled form, to treat by post, or treatment by other than qualified practitioners, shall be prohibited. Advertisements of medicines or other methods of treatment for venereal diseases, except in scientific publications addressed only to the medical and pharmaceutical professions, shall be prohibited. It shall also be prohibited to display publicly medicines or other means of treatment.

'(8) *Health Certificate.* Persons practising prostitution professionally shall be required to give evidence to a proper authority that

they are regularly examined by a competent and fully licensed medical practitioner. Penalty for default, imprisonment for three years.

'Any other person suffering from venereal disease or who is likely to spread the infection may be required either to produce evidence of his or her health, or submit to a prescribed examination. If found to be infected he or she may be required to produce regular certificates of health until proof of recovery.

'(9) *Compulsory Treatment.* If a professional prostitute is found to be suffering from venereal disease she must undergo treatment at a hospital. In case of refusal she may be compelled to do so. If a person repeatedly evades compulsory treatment, she may be detained in a suitable institution. Similarly, other persons suspected of spreading venereal infection may be subjected to compulsory treatment.

'(10). *Penalties.* To prevent the spread of infection by nursing mothers or wet-nurses or by infected children to nurses and others, the provisions of the Law for Combating Venereal Disease (Report of the 16th Committee of the Reichstag 1918 Section (1) s.s. (7)) shall be observed.

'(11) *Penalties for Sexual Intercourse while Infected.* Any person who carries out sexual intercourse knowing, or in such circumstances that he or she may be presumed to have known, that he or she was suffering from venereal disease, shall be liable to imprisonment for three years. (Saving any heavier penalty imposed by another statute.) In the case of a husband, prosecution can only be on information by the wife. Prosecution will lapse by prescription in three months.

Any person who marries knowing, or under such circumstances that he or she may be presumed to have known, that he or she was suffering from a venereal disease, and without informing the other party, before marriage, shall be liable to imprisonment for three years. Prosecution only on information by the other party.

'(12) *Offences against Public Decency.* Any person who publicly carries on an indecent trade in a manner provoking a public scandal, in particular every woman who accosts and offers herself for sale in a manner injurious to public decency, shall be liable to a penalty.

'(13) *Exploitation of a Person in Service or Employment.* Every person who exploits the dependence of a female through her position of employment and thereby induces her to sexual intercourse shall be liable to imprisonment for one year.

'(14) *Procuring.* Section 180 Imperial Criminal Code shall be amended in so far as it provides for a penalty for affording shelter to

persons living in immorality where there is no procuring, inducement, or exploitation.

In respect to affording residence to persons practising professional prostitution, provisions shall be made (cf. the principles in the resolution of the Reichstag for Combating Venereal Disease, Sections 11, 12 et al.) with penalties for infringement.

'(15) *Subornation to Immorality* (*Souteneurs*). Any person who by force or guile suborns a woman to practise immorality or who maintains her in a position where she practises immorality, is liable to imprisonment for three years, to loss of civil rights, and to supervision by the police authorities.

'(16) *Procedure in the case of Minors.* Any minor who is engaged in professional prostitution or shows indications that she contemplates doing so, shall be subjected to special guardianship until she has arrived at the age of 21 years.

'(17) *Postponement of Sentence.* In cases of condemnation to imprisonment under section 361, sub-s. (6) of the Criminal Code, the court may decide to postpone the execution of sentence. The period of postponement should not exceed two years. The sentence shall be carried out if the condemned person fails to observe the obligations imposed. If not revised within the period the sentence shall be proceeded with.'

Berlin, 28 *January*, 1920.

My own views on this question are based primarily on the methods employed by the special department of the Vienna Police (*Sittenpolizei*), which find their ablest exponent in Herr Regierungsrat Dr. Weinberger, the head of this department. I give below a speech of his which shows clearly his views on prostitution. Later we shall quote the provisions of the Law which he has suggested.

'It is characteristic of the attitude towards the problem of prostitution, of the educated classes, not to mention the mass of the people, that anyone who tries to discuss it in public is to some extent embarrassed by the fear of being misunderstood. This subject has always been veiled in mystery. The veil is thick enough to conceal it completely from those who do not want to see it, but transparent enough to permit of exciting glances by the prurient. Nevertheless, the problem of prostitution is so important, and the attitude which a particular individual adopts towards it is so indicative of his level of culture, that I regard it as a sociological necessity that every person should examine the question thoroughly.

'The problem of prostitution is only part of the general social

problem, and its solution must be attacked without cheap catchwords and indeed from an entirely different standpoint from that of morality in the ordinary sense of the word. The attempt to regulate prostitution goes back to a very early date; we find such measures in Roman law and during the Middle Ages. From the Code of Alaric and the Capitularies of Charles the Great to the Bull of Pope Julius II we find stringency alternating with leniency. The modern period begins with Draconian measures against prostitution which were, however, without much effect. All these attempts were based entirely on a moral point of view; sanitary supervision was not thought of until the French Revolution. (We should, perhaps, make an exception of a Law in Spain in 1486 providing for medical examination of prostitutes.) Prostitution is, generally speaking, still tolerated in most modern States under the guise of regulation. In Austria the supervision of professional prostitution is one of the duties of the Police.

'About ten years ago, the Vienna Police introduced a mixed system, in which the hygienic aspect is prominent, since provision is made for medical examination twice per week, but the purely police attitude is also seen in the control over the conditions of residence of prostitutes, and in other special regulations.

'The "abolition movement," as it is called, opposes police regulation on the grounds that it is morally unjustifiable, practically ineffectual, and even harmful.

'To-day we are convinced that the only satisfactory way in which to deal with prostitution is exclusively from the standpoint of Public Health. In general, the government has no business to interfere in the sex life of citizens; it should however try to remove or prevent those consequences of prostitution which are opposed to public security, and this certainly includes the maintenance of Public Health. We are not concerned then with the love life of the people but only with the venal love which is injurious to Public Health. Prostitution itself is, as it were, irrelevant. Pursuing this idea to its logical conclusion we arrive at the following as our fundamental principle: Prostitution should not be legally recognised at all, but we should devote all our efforts to suppressing those of its consequences which are injurious to social or individual welfare.

'It is therefore essential that we should decide what are the evil results to society of prostitution. From every point of view they are considerable.

'We must again insist that prostitution is only one aspect of the social problem with which all civilised men are concerned. The progress of humanity consists, in my opinion, in the elevation of the

average level of human beings, in their ethical, mental, material, and physical improvement, and in freeing them from catchwords and class ideas. The morally free human being will know what is right, without being watched by the police. Once the feeling of responsibility to future generations has been brought home to each individual – and this is equally desirable from every point of view, sociological, biological, ethical, and economic – then the problem of prostitution will appear as the egg of Columbus. The grave dangers of prostitution to public health, family life, and the welfare of the individual, can be denied by nobody. But in the meantime the individual and society find it convenient to give different answers to the question as to who carries on prostitution and who favours it, who encourages prostitution although at the same time denouncing it in public. The answer is obvious; it is the double standard of morality. The double standard of morality is of fundamental importance and is encouraged by the law as it stands to-day. 'For we persecute the woman who is suffering from venereal disease, but do not concern ourselves with the infected man; we regulate female prostitution, but do not protect women from being led into prostitution by the temptation of a man.

'To punish men also for "accosting" would do something to remove this double standard. Let us only punish prostitution when some criminal element, such as fraud and duress, are involved, or when public decency is disturbed. Let us by all means punish those accursed accompaniments of prostitution such as procuring, maintaining, or the "White Slave traffic," where it is a question of protecting innocence and youth. But let us always remember that prostitution is seldom resorted to as a profession because of sexual desire; it is either poverty or some inherited physiological or psychological defect which is usually responsible. Bad example, faulty education, and lack of moral protection, drive girls to prostitution.

'It is true that the prostitute is a definite type. But one cannot punish a woman merely because she has the disposition to become a prostitute. One must confine oneself to checking her lack of restraint from the (only valid) point of view of social well-being. What is needed here is the most energetic propaganda. The elevation of the general level of civilisation would follow from a growth of individual sense of social responsibility. (I prefer this term to "morality.") Such a growth of individual sense of responsibility would immediately diminish prostitution, for each individual would be fully conscious of the harmful effects to society of an act which offered him or her a momentary pleasure.

'Another thing which must not be forgotten in the terrible social

confusion of our times, is the connection between prostitution and alcoholism.

'The harmful effects to society of prostitution are not confined to morality and health. The statesman must also take account of the economic aspect of this problem. Without going into statistics, let us think for a moment of the enormous capital which is devoted to prostitution. Is it not terrible, that at a time when children are starving, the aged are in want, scientific intellectual and artistic activities are crippled for want of funds, we can still afford to build new resorts of lust and debauchery? It would be far from my purpose to attack the pleasures of the people at a time when our country is in such a desperate plight. On the contrary, let decent forms of pleasure remain; let them be increased. But are the night-clubs, cabarets, *café-dansants*, or whatever euphemistic title they give themselves, – are these places of *popular* amusement? Think how much is spent there in one evening on drink, prostitution, and rubbish. Quite an important item is the cost of the music, which is sensual and exotic, taken from comic operas and revues, and is chosen as dance-music for reasons which are only too obvious. It is not to the point that many people make their livings out of these places. For they would have to live by honest work if there were not persons who do not know what better to do with their lightly earned money than to invest it in these stews and speculate on the crudest instincts of a jaded civilisation. Prostitution must also be combated because it diverts so much capital from industry. Everybody already agrees that procurers and *souteneurs* deserve the extreme rigours of the law, and it is essential that they should come to see that the capital of prostitution and its resorts should also be treated as a social menace.

'All this has nothing at all to do with morality in the usual sense of the word, but it is also the task of the social reformer to raise the general standard of morality. The progress of democracy should in itself effect a great improvement in this respect, for, in a Socialist State, morality would play a more important part than it does at present. I would like to refer in this connection to Anton Menger's *Neue Sittenlehre*: "Not only the property interests but also the sexual interests of the people must be protected from exploitation."

'As one means of elevating the general standard of morality, Menger proposes "An organisation of public opinion for moral reform." He suggests a "system of publicity" (publication of Court proceedings and of offences against morality). We are still a long way from the attainment of this ideal of the celebrated jurist. The harmful

social effects of the lack of moral protection of our youth, particularly our girls, are not sufficiently appreciated. Publicists have only taken up the campaign in a half-hearted fashion and frequently from a false standpoint. This is the more deplorable, as, on account of the aftermath of the war, moral laxity has extended into classes of society who formerly maintained a high level of morality. Immorality has grown to such an alarming extent that it has practically crowded out the professional prostitute. The impoverishment of whole social classes has led to demoralisation. It is only necessary to note the terrible spread of "occasional prostitution," i.e. prostitution as a side-line. Here we see the close connection between morality and economic conditions. The girls of the property-less class – and these include to-day great numbers of the so-called middle classes – are faced with "seduction in a thousand forms" (the words are Menger's). They have to look for entertainment outside their parents' homes at an age when their judgment has not been ripened by experience. They are faced with luxury on all sides. They are addicted to low pleasures, pornographic books, suggestive motion pictures, erotic forms of dancing, degrading music; and so are led into prostitution in one of its many forms. These lamentable facts are not yet appreciated by everybody as they should be.

'Great stress must be laid on the importance of occasional prostitution as the greatest danger to society. The police now have a very large and costly administration for controlling that comparatively small number of women who have the courage to acknowledge themselves prostitutes. In 1921 only 1,438 prostitutes were registered in Vienna. But the dangers of prostitution were due much less to this comparatively small army of women than to the girls, recruited mostly from minors, who are addicted to what we call secret prostitution. We must fight against these, not only from the standpoint of Public Health, but also because of the necessity for protecting young persons.

'The *Sittenpolizei* arrested 2,374 girls during 1919 for practising prostitution without being registered. Of these 790 (i.e. 33 per cent) had to be sent to hospital to be treated for venereal disease. 373 of them were under the age of 18, and of these 179 (i.e. 47·9 per cent) were infected. During 1920, 3,273 women were arrested, of whom 1,007 (i.e. 30·8 per cent) were infected; the minors numbered 347, and of these 159 (i.e. 45·8 per cent) were infected. In 1921 2,485 were arrested, of whom 855 (i.e. 34·4 per cent) were infected; minors 299, of whom 122 (i.e. 40·8 per cent) were infected. Comparison with pre-war years shows that in 1912, 1,015 were arrested, of whom 99 (i.e. 9 per cent) were infected; in 1913, 718,

of whom 87 (i.e. 12 per cent) were infected. In the first year of the war, 1914, 1,034 were arrested, and of these 79 (i.e. 7 per cent) were infected.

'These figures demonstrate much more clearly than words what a terrible increase in venereal disease has followed the war, and it is more striking when we remember that the police succeed in tracking only a small percentage of the infected women practising secret prostitution.

'It is only a campaign against venereal disease without distinction of sex which can lead to a solution of the very difficult problem which the modern statesman has to face in respect of prostitution.

'We have already insisted that a new orientation of the problem can only come from adopting the point of view of public health, but as prostitution, or more correctly promiscuous intercourse, is the chief cause of the spread of venereal disease, an adequate law for combating the latter will give us the best handle for coping with the former. This law must make no distinction of sex. Up to now it has not been possible to apprehend men infected with a venereal disease and submit them to treatment, whereas women who were practising secret prostitution could be arrested (up to a certain percentage) and compelled to undergo treatment. It is high time that this unsatisfactory system were abolished, and more effectual measures took its place. The general principles to be followed in such legislation should be those which are used in combating any other infectious disease. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (the first since 1906) have laws for combating venereal disease which, according to all accounts, have proved quite satisfactory. In Germany a Bill has been introduced. The Austrian "Society for Combating Venereal Disease" has for a long time been urging the legislature to move in this matter. A Bill was recently drafted and submitted to the proper authorities in the hope that this would give a final impetus so that among us too this problem would be attacked with the earnestness and despatch which its urgency demands. But haste is necessary. Every day of delay means new injuries to the Public Health as Herr Hofrat Professor Dr. Finger emphasised in a recent report. He also pointed out that venereal disease is also increasing terribly among the peasants.

'Shortly after the Revolution,[1] the then Minister for Public Health, in a Minute of the 21 November 1918, took the first step towards dealing officially with the problem. But although this Minute came into force on the day of its proclamation, it has been of no use since it lacked any legal sanction. It was based on the extraordinary

[1] i.e. in 1918.

powers of the Austro-German Privy Council. It contains many important principles, such as general obligation to treatment of venereal diseases during the infectious period; restricted duty of notification by doctors (they must notify the disease in circumstances where a spread of infection is likely); establishment of clinics for advice and treatment; compulsory treatment in a special hospital where necessary; partial defrayment of cost from the national exchequer; and the prohibition of certain methods of treatment.

'The ideal law for combating venereal diseases, which I would prefer to see entitled "A Law for Combating Venereal Disease and the Causes thereof," should in essentials follow the Swedish law. It must contain the following provisions: restricted duty of notification by a doctor who comes across a case of venereal disease in the course of practice where there is danger of the spread of infection; compulsory treatment where necessary of both men and women without distinction; a general obligation of treatment for every person infected, during the infectious period; establishment of clinics for advice and treatment; free treatment; supervision of treatment by the Department of Public Health; examination of those suspected of infection; establishment of the source of infection; prohibition of certain methods of treatment; energetic propaganda for the instruction and information of all classes; and finally, regulations applying to prostitution based on the foregoing principles.

'The law should not, however, be merely a health measure; in addition it should attack prostitution, but not so much, as hitherto, merely by repression, as by *preventing its development*. This is primarily a question of providing for effective guardianship of young persons. The official police regulation of prostitution should be definitely abandoned and the police restricted exclusively to administering the existing criminal law against vagrancy, refusal to work, or carrying on prostitution in a way which is demonstrably contrary to public decency. They will exercise supervision over the dwellings and resorts of prostitutes, and apprehend them for examination as the most dangerous sources of infection. They will also exercise a general surveillance over notorious prostitutes – where possible by women inspectors – but only from the point of view of either public health or the existing criminal law. They must also undertake a campaign against the growth of prostitution, especially the protection of young persons exposed to temptation, and the reclamation, where possible, of those who have already fallen but are capable of something better. A complete solution of the problem of prostitution is not to be expected immediately. For a time we must content ourselves with checking its more obvious evils, diverting the capital

invested in it into more useful channels, and the progressive establishment of measures for effective guardianship of minors. The desired law combating venereal diseases, the existing (or better still, revised) law against vagrancy, and the other branches of the criminal law applicable, will, if brought up to date, afford sufficient handles to deal with the effects of prostitution, so that, finally, special laws against prostitution itself can be tacitly dispensed with.

'But it should be understood that the phrase "measures for effective guardianship of minors" is very comprehensive. They must be introduced gradually but applied thoroughly. Education, instruction in hygiene, establishment of homes and work colonies – these are only a few of the many fields of work involved.

'Another matter which should be dealt with in a law for combating venereal disease is the marriage of infected persons and the protection of the family. This is the place for the "health certificate for marriage" which has been so much discussed. There should also be propaganda and advice against quack methods of treatment, and provisions relating to infected domestic servants and wet nurses.

'If I were asked to sum up briefly my attitude on the problem of prostitution and venereal disease which is impossible to dissever from it, I should do so in the following sentences:

'A campaign against venereal disease without distinction of sex; restricted duty of notification where there is danger of the spread of the infection; compulsory treatment where necessary by the State authority on the advice of the doctor; general obligation to treatment; free treatment.

'A campaign against the capital invested in prostitution in every form.

'A campaign against prostitution in so far as it is contrary to public decency and already subject to the criminal law; or where it is injurious to public health; effective guardianship of the young, and help for those capable of better life.

'Freedom from catchwords and shibboleths; a frank statement of the facts without any *arrière-pensée.*

'Thus, even this problem will ultimately be solved. This cannot be done immediately, but if we honestly try, we shall at least prepare the way for its ultimate solution. Propaganda is necessary. Everything must be done to make everybody realise that *prostitution is not a necessary evil.* It is never necessary, and it is an evil only when it is injurious to health or creates a public scandal. It must be fought because it spreads venereal disease and diverts great sums from the nation's wealth.

'Anton Wildgans has referred to this waste as "treason against the

welfare of the people." There is one thing which male citizens must note. They must not give countenance to prostitution; they must not demand the commodity and thus increase the supply; they must not tread the primrose path and contract venereal disease and then spread it. Men too must show a conscience in the matter. The double standard of morality must go. Men and women must be treated alike and therefore compulsory treatment of venereal disease in men must be introduced where there is danger of the spread of infection. If such an idea became general it would mean an elevation of the level of morality and of the sense of social responsibility. It would make clear the duty of society to spread enlightenment and undertake measures for the protection of those exposed to risk.

'It would also lead to a campaign against all that savours of prostitution in literature and amusements. (German *Prostitutionelle.*)

'Finally, as a result of this improvement in morality, a woman would have too much self-respect to give herself to a man for money. Nobody would dare to take a woman of the people merely for his pleasure and thereby increase prostitution to the detriment of society.' . . .

Do not these words sound unexpectedly mild from the mouth of a Police Official? Can the man at whose instigation and under whose supervision those 'raids' were carried out which evoked so much indignation among liberal-minded people – can such a tyrant have such sentiments as these? The reason for this point of view will appear from a brief account of these 'raids.'

The alarming increase in venereal disease during the last years of the war and after the revolution was found, on investigation, to be due primarily to the great increase in secret prostitution. The brothels were closed by official orders, and the control over both licensed and secret prostitution was made more stringent. Unexpected raids were carried out in the small hotels which are resorted to for casual sexual intercourse. They were conducted only by old and experienced officials usually under the command of the Chief himself, and were directed exclusively towards two classes: women practising prostitution without being registered, and women infected with venereal disease. Every one must admit that both these types are extremely dangerous to the community, and that it was necessary that they should be medically examined. The suspected cases – *and only suspected cases* – were taken to headquarters for examination by doctors, and no decision was made in any case until the conclusion of this examination. Only those women were arrested who had made the acquaintance of the man for the first time in the street or at a

café or somewhere of the sort immediately prior to the visit to the hotel, where a definite price had been fixed for the business and in most cases had already been paid. They thus belonged to the class of persons who were practising prostitution professionally without being registered, the class who are the greatest source of venereal disease. They also arrested any young persons found in such circumstances.

If the medical examination established venereal disease, then the women were compelled to undergo treatment, most of them being sent to the Female Lock Hospital at Klosternberg, where they were compelled to remain until free from infection. If a woman had otherwise a good reputation, and her conduct justified some confidence in her, the hospital treatment was omitted on condition that she gave evidence within twenty-four hours that she had commenced treatment with a reputable specialist or at a clinic, and gave further evidence that it was being continued.

If they were young persons who had merely adopted this life out of frivolity or ignorance, they were handed over to the court-missionaries for instruction or sent back to their parents. Efforts were made to help them by getting them situations and thus bringing them back to the right path again. However, as I shall show by statistics later, many such deficient individuals return to the old life even after they have been in an institution.

The storm of indignation provoked by these 'raids' was due to two things: firstly, it was said that they involved an unwarranted interference with the liberty of the subject; and secondly, it was claimed – this mostly by women – that they were unjust in that only women were subjected to the indignity of medical examination and treatment. The justification of the latter reproach did not escape such a man as Dr. Weinberger, and he has sought to remedy this injustice in the Bill which he has proposed to the Austrian Government. I quote below the text of this Bill. His introductory remarks recapitulate the lecture which we have just read:

REGIERUNGSRAT DR. WEINBERGER

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS TO BILL FOR COMBATING VENEREAL DISEASE AND THE CAUSES THEREOF

'Shortly after the Revolution the then Minister for Public Health took the first step towards dealing officially with the problem of venereal disease by a Minute dated the 21 November, 1918. But although this Minute came into force on the day of its proclamation, in accordance with Section 20 (*vide* Vol. 10 of Statutes for Austro-Germany No. 49) it has never had any legislative sanction. It was

based on the extraordinary powers of the Austro-German Privy Council. It contains many important principles, such as: universal obligation to treatment of venereal disease during the infectious period; restricted duty of notification by doctors (they are to notify the disease in circumstances where there is danger of a spread of infection); establishment of clinics for advice and treatment; compulsory treatment in a Lock Hospital where necessary; partial contribution towards costs from the National Exchequer; and the prohibition of certain methods of treatment.

'The problem of combating venereal disease has hitherto been identified with the regulation and control of prostitution, and has therefore been handed over to the police. But it is not clear why, in dealing with venereal disease, we should depart from the principles which are observed in respect of any other infectious disease, i.e. notification by doctors, examination and compulsory treatment for those infected. This was suggested by Herr Hofrat Professor Dr. Finger in his article on the Swedish Law for Combating Venereal Disease of 1918 which appeared in the *Wiene Clinische Wochenschrift* for January 30, 1919. A modern law for dealing with venereal disease should abandon this idea of the regulation and control of prostitution, for an effective measure for dealing with the former problem would necessarily entail a new attitude towards the latter. It has become clear to-day that prostitution should be treated officially only from the point of view of Public Health. Prostitution *per se* is irrelevant, and the statesman must adopt the attitude of refusing to recognise prostitution legally at all and confine himself to fighting its consequences in so far as these are prejudicial to the welfare of society or the individual. Prostitution entails many serious dangers to the Public Health, and these demand that we should wage a campaign against venereal disease without distinction of sex. This will lead to the solution of the very delicate question as to the attitude which the state must adopt in respect of prostitution.

'The problem of prostitution is only one aspect of the social problem with which all enlightened people are concerned. The progress of humanity consists in the elevation of the average level of human beings, in their ethical, material, mental, and physical improvement, and in freeing them from catchwords and class ideas. The man who is morally free would be quite conscious of what is right, without police supervision. It is our task to make this path. If only all educational forces would concentrate their efforts on driving home to each individual his responsibility to future generations, then the problem of prostitution would appear as the egg of Columbus. This is a difficult task, but is really no more difficult

than political and religious propaganda and is desirable from every point of view; biological, ethical, and economic.

'In order to appreciate the difficulties confronting a law for combating venereal disease we must keep before us the enormous facilities for the spread of infection which are afforded by the popular resorts frequented by prostitutes. The capital which is invested in prostitution diverts a great part of the wealth of the community to the uses of lust. All the breeding grounds of prostitution must be treated as inimical to society, quite apart from any ethical consideration.

'But it is also the task of the social reformer to raise the general standard of morality. The progress of democracy should in itself effect a great improvement in this respect, so in a Socialist state morality would play a more important part than it does at present. I would like, in this connection, to refer to Anton Menger's *Neue Sittenlehre*: 'Not only the property interests but also the sexual interests of the people must be protected against exploitation.' But to return to the campaign against venereal disease, we must emphasise that only a law for combating venereal diseases which makes ***no distinction between the sexes*** or between different social classes, can give the proper basis for determining the attitude of the Government towards the problem of prostitution.

'The ideal law for combating venereal diseases,' which I would prefer to see entitled "A Law for Combating Venereal Diseases and the Causes thereof," should, in essentials, follow the Swedish law. It must contain the following provisions: restricted duty of notification by a doctor who comes across a case of venereal disease in the course of his practice, where there is danger of the spread of infection; compulsory treatment where necessary of both men and women without distinction; general obligation of treatment for every person infected, during the infectious period; establishment of clinics for advice and treatment; free treatment; supervision of treatment by the Department of Health; examination of those suspected of infection; prohibition of certain methods of treatment; establishment of source of infection; energetic campaign for the enlightenment and instruction of all classes; and finally, regulations applying to prostitution based on the foregoing principles.

'So far as the last point is concerned, the law must quite definitely provide that the present police regulation of prostitution should come to an end. The police should be confined exclusively to administering the existing criminal law against vagrancy, refusal to work, or carrying on prostitution in a way which is demonstrably contrary to public decency.

'They will exercise supervision over the dwellings and resorts of prostitutes and apprehend them for examination as the most dangerous sources of infection. They will also exercise a general surveillance over notorious prostitutes – where possible, by women inspectors – but only from the point of view of either public health or the existing criminal law. They must also undertake a campaign against the growth of prostitution, especially for the protection of young persons exposed to temptation, and the reclamation, where possible, of those who have already fallen but are capable of something better. A complete solution of the problem of prostitution is not to be expected immediately. For a time, we must content ourselves with checking its more obvious evils, with diverting the capital invested in it into more useful channels, and with the progressive measures for the establishment of effective measures for guardianship of minors. The desired law for combating venereal diseases, the existing (or still better, revised) law against vagrancy, and the other branches of the criminal law applicable, will, if brought up to date, afford sufficient handles to deal with prostitution so that finally, special laws against prostitution itself can be tacitly dispensed with.

'But it should be understood that the phrase "measures for effective guardianship of minors" is very comprehensive. They must be introduced gradually but applied thoroughly. Education, instruction in hygiene, establishment of work-colonies and homes – these are only a few of the many fields of work involved.

'Finally, another matter which must be dealt with in the law is the marriage of infected persons and the protection of the family. This is the place for the health certificate for marriage, which has been so much discussed. There should also be propaganda and advice against quack methods of treatment and provisions relating to infected domestic servants – in particular, wet-nurses.

'Let us hope that in the near future a law for combating venereal diseases and their causes will be introduced. We may expect from it not only an enormous improvement in Public Health, but also a great moral victory. For it would be no less than this to put an end once and for all to the double standard of morality which is favoured by the present state of the law. For we persecute women with venereal diseases without troubling about men; we regulate prostitution but do not protect women from the importunities of men which lead them to prostitution. The double standard of morality must go. Men and women must be treated alike and there must therefore be compulsory treatment for men in cases where there is danger of the infection spreading. But, above all, we need a new attitude towards the problem of venereal disease and, therefore, towards prostitution.'

APPENDIX ON PROSTITUTION

REGIERUNGSRAT DR. HUGO WEINBERGER

A Law for the Prevention and Combating of Venereal Diseases and the Causes thereof in Austria

FIRST DIVISION

ON THE PREVENTION AND COMBATING OF VENEREAL DISEASES

SCOPE OF THE TERM

Section 1. For the purposes of this act the term Venereal Disease will include:

(*a*) Gonorrhœa; of the urinary and genital organs, eyes, or rectum.

(*b*) Soft chancre.

(*c*) Syphilis; in primary, secondary, or tertiary stage, or hereditary syphilis.

ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY

Section (2). The duty of administering this Act shall lie with the Public Health Authority. The Public Health Authority means, in the first instance, any Local Government authority in which the Public Health Officer discharges the duties of Inspector for the purpose of this Act.

In cities and towns which have their own Public Health Officer, he shall assume the functions of Inspector for the purpose of this Act. In cities where there are several Public Medical Officers, one of them shall be entrusted with the special duties of Inspector.

The Ministry of Health and all other authorities concerned with Public Health, shall assist in the administration of this Act, and shall introduce special regulations for this purpose.

Section (3). The Police Authorities shall assist in the administration of this Act. In particular they shall provide for the penal enforcement of the decisions of the Public Health Authorities and shall also arrange for the establishment of as many clinics as may be required for the purposes mentioned herein.

GENERAL OBLIGATION TO TREATMENT

Section (4). Every person who is suffering from a venereal disease shall, during the infectious period, undergo medical treatment and shall observe all instructions both in respect of such treatment and for the prevention of the spread of the infection.

In the case of minors the duty of providing medical treatment rests on the legal guardian.

Section (5). The person infected or his guardian shall furnish evidence of treatment to the Public Health Authority. In cases where the person belongs to a sick fund, lodge, or similar organisation, he or she shall also, if required, notify this organisation.

Section (6). Every person who fears that he or she has contracted a venereal disease has the right to free medical treatment on application to the Public Medical Officer, or Public Clinic, or Public Hospital.

CLINICS FOR ADVICE AND TREATMENT

Section (7). Clinics for the advice and treatment of those suffering from venereal disease shall be established by the Public Health Authority under the direction of the Ministry of Health.

The arrangement of these clinics will be fixed by regulations.

Section (8). The Public Health Authority shall make provision for an adequate number of Public Medical Officers, and among them a due proportion of women doctors, who will be available for the purposes of this act and in particular for the purposes of Section (6).

DEFRAYMENT OF COST

Section (9). The cost of the establishment of Clinics and of Medical Officers (Section (8)) shall be borne by the Local Government body for the district. In suitable cases assistance may be afforded by the national exchequer.

In particular the national exchequer will provide for the payment of costs incurred in respect of the following: serological, bacteriological, and other special examinations as may be necessary; gratuitous provisions of drugs and apparatus by refund on a claim made in each particular case.

In the event of a local outbreak of venereal infection the National Exchequer will provide substantial financial assistance to the local authority, or if it is poor will discharge the cost entirely.

COMPULSORY NOTIFICATION

Section (10). Every doctor who, in the course of his practice, meets with a case of venereal disease, shall immediately notify it if there is danger of the spread of the infection.

Section (11). The notification shall be made to the Public Health Inspector (Section (2)). It should contain exact details respecting the source of infection.

Section (12). The doctor shall endeavour to ascertain from the patient from whom and under what circumstances he became infected.

The doctor shall then within 24 hours send to the Public Health Inspector a report suggesting methods of dealing with the source of infection. Where the source of infection has been established, the provisions of *Section* (14) *et seq.* apply.

Section (13). The Public Health Authority shall carefully verify any notifications coming from any other source, and if necessary shall act in accordance with Sections (14) *et seq.*

TREATMENT AND SUPERVISION

Section (14). (*a*) The Public Health Inspector shall, on receiving notification of infection, summon the patient to attend at the appropriate Clinic.

(*b*) The Medical Superintendent of the Clinic shall decide whether the patient may remain under private treatment, may be treated at the Clinic as an out-patient, or must be sent to Hospital. The Inspector shall be immediately informed of the decision, and shall supervise the carrying out of the treatment prescribed.

(*c*) Where there is no clinic available the Inspector shall see that the patient is received at a Hospital or as an out-patient.

(*d*) On completion of the treatment the Inspector shall arrange for the regular medical examination or require periodical health certificates.

Section (15). In cases of Sections (10), (12) and (13), the Inspector shall either serve the summons provided for in Section (14) himself or send it to the appropriate Public Health Authority of the district in which the patient resides. The latter shall then proceed in accordance with Section (14).

Section (16). In cases where the patient is allowed to remain under private treatment the Inspector shall fix a period within which evidence must be furnished that the treatment continues until complete cure is effected. The Inspector may also require subsequent supervision in accordance with Section (14 *d*).

Section (17). Any person suffering from a venereal disease who fails to obey the instructions of the Inspector or private doctor or Clinic in respect of treatment, or discontinues treatment before complete cure has been effected, may be immediately confined to a Lock Hospital by order of the Inspector. This shall be enforced where necessary by the Police.

Section 18. (*a*) No person suffering from venereal disease shall be refused admission to a Public Lock Hospital during the period of infection.

(*b*) Every patient shall remain in Hospital until the period of infection is over, and shall obey all instructions of the Hospital

and the doctors who are treating such patient. In default, a penalty.

(*c*) If the hospital prescribes outdoor treatment only, the Inspector shall be immediately so informed and shall supervise such outdoor treatment and arrange for the subsequent supervision provided in Section (14 *d*).

Section (19). In the case of persons who are in the army, or confined in institutions such as prisons, asylums, reformatories, etc., the provisions of the foregoing sections shall be carried out in co-operation with the military or institutional medical authorities as the case may be.

Section (20). Where any prosecution is commenced for a criminal breach of the provisions of this act, as for knowingly spreading an infectious venereal disease, procuring, maintaining, or otherwise assisting in the growth of prostitution, the Inspector shall be immediately informed and shall act in accordance with the provisions of Section (14).

Section (21). If any person, while subject to the provisions of Sections (14) *et seq.*, changes his or her address, the Inspector of the area of the former address shall inform the Inspector of the area of the new address. The latter shall then arrange for the continuation of treatment in accordance with the provisions of this act.

EXAMINATION OF SUSPECTS

Section (22). Every person who is reasonably suspected of suffering from a venereal disease, and not under treatment, may be required by the Inspector to furnish medical evidence of the state of his or her health or to submit to medical examination.

COMPULSORY TREATMENT

Section (23). In particular, the provisions of the last section shall apply to persons arrested by the police on account of immorality or prostitution or promiscuous intercourse without distinction of sex. Where infection is established such persons shall be compulsorily confined in a hospital in accordance with Section (17) on account of the great risk of spreading the infection in such cases.

Section (24). (*a*) In general, any person of either sex may be sent for treatment in a hospital where this is necessary in order to prevent the spreading of the infection.

(*b*) Such persons shall also be liable to supervision in accordance with the provisions of Section (14 *d*).

(*c*) No medical treatment shall be undertaken without the consent of the patient in such a case.

(*d*) If the patient refuses to be treated then the Inspector shall take such other steps as are necessary for preventing the spreading of the infection.

INSTRUCTION OF PERSONS INFECTED

Section (25). (*a*) Every doctor who examines or treats a patient suffering from a venereal disease, shall instruct him in the dangers to his fellows especially through coitus and shall give him a pamphlet provided by the Public Health Authority.

(*b*) If the condition of the patient or other circumstances require that the facts should not be explained at the moment the doctor may dispense with this information on informing the Inspector.

(*c*) In the case of any young person infected with venereal disease, the doctor shall inform the parents or guardians or other responsible persons and acquaint them with the regulations relating to the spreading of infection.

Section (26). (*a*) The Public Health Authority shall make provision for the issue of pamphlets and in general for the information of all classes on the dangers of venereal disease.

(*b*) All public authorities shall render all appropriate assistance in combating the spread of venereal disease.

(*c*) The police and licensing authorities shall provide for the rigid observance of sanitary regulations in respect of places which are resorts of prostitutes, such as 'short-time' hotels, pleasure resorts, etc., and in cases of danger of spread of infection shall immediately enforce the closing of such premises.

PROHIBITED METHODS OF TREATMENT

Section (27). Every person who (*a*) advertises the treatment of venereal disease by post or sends or advertises drugs for self-treatment, or (*b*) being a medical practitioner advertises methods of treatment in the press or treats patients without actually seeing them, shall be liable to a fine and imprisonment for three months.

Both penalties may be concurrent and may be associated with the deprivation of the right of practice.

Provided that methods of treatment, drugs, etc., may be advertised in technical publications or addressed only to members of the medical profession, pharmacists, and other persons authorised to deal in such matters.

YOUNG PERSONS

Section (28). In all cases where the provisions of Ss. (10) to (12), (14) *et seq* apply to minors or young persons, the parents or guardians shall be informed.

PRESERVATION OF PROFESSIONAL SECRECY

Section (29). Information disclosed in proceedings under this Act shall not be communicated to any unauthorised person and, in particular, all reports and documents referring to cases shall be kept by the Inspector or private doctor in such a way that no unauthorised person may gain access to them.

NOTIFICATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES LIABLE TO PROSECUTION

Section (30). The Inspector shall notify the Director of Public Prosecutions of all facts coming to his knowledge as a result of Ss. (10) to (13) which reveal a state of affairs liable to criminal prosecution, in particular where there is evidence of procuring, maintaining, White Slave traffic, subornation to prostitution, or criminal communication of venereal infection.

DUTIES OF DOCTORS

Section (31). Every medical practitioner shall assist in every way in the administration of this Act.

PENALTIES

Section (32). Every Public Official who fails to perform the duties imposed by this act shall be guilty of an offence and liable to imprisonment for six months and a fine of 100,000 kronen.

Section (33). Every medical practitioner who fails to furnish the notification provided for in Section (10) and (12) shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment for six months and a fine of 100,000 kronen.

Section (34). Every person who offends against the obligations imposed by Sections (14 *b*), (14 *d*), (18) and (22) shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment for six months and in addition to a fine of 200,000 kronen.

Section (35). Every person who negligently infringes the obligations imposed by Section (34) is guilty of an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment for three months and a fine of 100,000 kronen.

Section (36). All fines imposed in accordance with the provisions of Sections (27), (34) or (35) shall be paid into the national exchequer towards the defrayal of the costs mentioned in Section (9).

APPEALS

Section (37). Appeals against decisions or orders made under this Act or the regulations made under it shall not have the effect of a stay of proceedings. Provided that this shall not apply to sentences imposed as penalties.

SPECIAL DUTIES OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Section (38). The State Ministry of Public Health has the following obligations imposed upon it by this Act: (i) Enlightenment and systematic education of the people in the dangers of extra-marital intercourse and of venereal disease. (ii) To assist in the establishment of Clinics for advice and treatment especially for free medical treatment and the provisions of drugs and other medical necessities. (iii) Appointment of such visiting medical officers as may be necessary. (iv) To assist hospitals in the provision of accommodation for patients suffering from venereal disease in accordance with their social status. (v) To assist in finding employment for young persons suffering from venereal disease and establishment of reformatories for young persons addicted to prostitution. (vi) Provision of Asylums for incurable cases of venereal disease. (vii) Establishment of Homes for hereditary syphilitic children. (viii) Provision of bacteriological, serological, and other diagnostic examinations. Regulations for these purposes shall be introduced.

SECOND DIVISION

FOR COMBATING THE CHIEF CAUSES OF VENEREAL DISEASE

MARRIAGE

Section (39). Venereal Disease shall be an impediment to marriage during the infectious period. In special cases the Inspector may allow a marriage to take place in spite of infection.

Section (40). (*a*) Every doctor who obtains knowledge of the existence of venereal disease in the manner provided in Section (10) and learns that the patient intends to marry shall inform the Inspector of this fact immediately.

(*b*) The Inspector shall immediately inform the Authority provided in the Civil Code for dealing with impediments to marriage.

PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY

Section (41). All possible measures shall be taken to protect families from infection. All bodies responsible for the protection of family life shall undertake energetic propaganda on the dangers of venereal disease at every opportunity.

Section (42). (*a*) Special attention shall be given to the health of servants and nurses.

(*b*) Venereal disease in a servant shall be a ground for instant dismissal without right of compensation.

(*c*) Nurses who enter service while suffering from a venereal disease may be dismissed and are liable to a penalty if the infection was deliberately or negligently concealed.

Section (43). All laws or regulations contrary to the provisions of this act are hereby repealed. All police laws and regulations dealing with the regulation and control of prostitutes are hereby repealed.

Section (44). Prostitution shall be subject to no special laws or regulations save those of the ordinary criminal law with respect to vagrancy.

Section (45). In respect of prostitution the police authorities shall confine their activities to offences against public decency, supervision of dwellings and resorts of notorious prostitutes, and the guardianship and care of young persons.

Section (46). The Police Authorities shall establish Bureaus for Health and Hygiene which shall be governed by special regulations and shall deal especially with the administration of this Act, Sections (3), (17), (22), (23), (24).

THIRD DIVISION

GENERAL PROVISIONS

BEGINNING OF THIS ACT

Section (47). This Act shall come into operation six months after proclamation.

Section (48). The Ministers for Public Health, Internal Affairs, and Justice shall be responsible for the administration of this Act.

I shall now quote some statistics provided by the Vienna *Sittenpolizei* illustrating the scope of secret and open prostitution.

At the end of 1921 there were 1,438 registered prostitutes in the Police District of Vienna; of these 655 had been registered during the years 1920-21. 527 of them had been convicted by Magistrates and 197 had been convicted by the Criminal Courts. 407 had been treated in Hospital for venereal disease. Of those who registered for the first time in 1921, 56 gave poverty as the reason for taking this step; 74 were congenital mental deficients and had been sent to institutions without success; in 36 cases the drunkenness of their parents and in 27 cases general moral laxity in the home had been the cause. There were 15 cases of inherited viciousness (the mother had also been of low character) and in 7 cases the reason was incapacity for work. The majority of them had previously been servants, but almost all female occupations were represented.

The figures for the years 1913-21 show that, classing them by age,

the greatest quota were those of 26 years old. 725 were of this age while only 155 were 18 years of age (the lowest quota). The next figures are rather surprising and illustrate the truth of the old adage 'Age is no bar to folly,' if we take 'folly' to apply to the men and 'age' to the women, for 9 prostitutes were 59 years old and 4 were 63! Of the newly registered prostitutes during this period, 4 were aged 18, 211 were aged 25, and 2 even began at the age of 52!

Even more striking than these are the statistics illustrating the growth of secret prostitution. The raids on the cafés and hotels during 1920 already discussed, resulted in the apprehension of 7,637 persons charged with practising secret prostitution as against 666 for the year 1919. Of these 7,637, no less than 1,843 (24 per cent) were suffering from venereal disease and were sent to hospital for treatment. During the same year (1920) 3,273 persons were arrested for practising secret prostitution, of whom 1,007 (30·8 per cent) were infected. Of the infected cases 416 (21·6 per cent) were adults and 432 (33 per cent) minors and 159 (45 per cent) were young persons.

These last figures show clearly that lack of education of adolescents is one of the greatest causes not only of moral laxity but also of venereal disease. These young people frequently do not know of the existence of venereal disease although their organs are in a shocking condition. I mentioned above that circumstances which favour conviviality and extravagance or which bring numbers of people together, also cause an increase in prostitution. This is shown very well by the figures for recent years. In 1908, 304 persons were arrested by the *Sittenpolizei*, and 1916 (a war year) shows 984. But following the foreign invasion of 1919-20 (consequent on the fall of the exchange) we find 3,273 cases, and of these, as already stated, 30·8 per cent were infected with venereal disease.

Careful consideration of these figures will convince us that none of the methods so far employed for combating secret prostitution are adequate. It is the chief source of venereal infection and is really more dangerous to the public health than public prostitution.

I regard it is impossible completely to eradicate public prostitution as long as civilisation continues, nor do I think it correct to regard it as a sign of 'decadence' as was done in Ancient Rome and Mediæval Europe.

'Prostitution is intimately bound up with all our social institutions, with our vices and virtues, with riches and with poverty, with our public and private life, with our customs and morality – in short, with everything which is typical of civilisation. It is entwined with our commerce, our art, our industries, and our professions, our

strengths and our weaknesses, and is an essential element of our life.

'We have records of prostitution from the earliest times. It began as soon as men began to live in cities so that many people gathered together in one place. It flourished as the cities flourished, encouraged by the increasing wealth of the populace, by manufactures and commerce. It is a child of progress with the inevitable multiplication of human wants which progress produces, and, despite all the efforts of civilisation to combat it, it is really fostered by civilisation. Ever since the human race left the primitive agricultural and pastoral stages, and their senses became more refined and their wants more complex, prostitution has been an essential part of refinement and progress.

'The vice of prostitution is intimately related to other vices and is more dangerous because it is built on the weaknesses of human nature; so that society, instead of suppressing it, really shelters and protects it.'

With these words Dr. Loewe describes, in his *Prostitution aller Zeiten und Völker*, this the greatest of all social evils, which, however, society has now determined to suppress. Although genuine attempts to do this have been made before now, the weapons used have been badly chosen and the nature of the conflict has been wrongly conceived. It is not prostitution *per se* that must be fought. Police regulation, or the abolition of regulation, each of which has its advocates, are equally futile. In the thousands of years of its history, prostitution has built up strong defences. We must concentrate our efforts against the *consequences* of prostitution, and primarily against venereal disease.

If we adopt this view-point and choose our weapons accordingly, police protection and punishment for man and woman alike, then our efforts will be crowned with success.

So far I have confined myself to giving a general account of prostitution from every possible standpoint according to the views to be found in the very extensive literature of the subject. I desire now briefly to give my own personal view on the question of prostitution. That view is of course primarily that of the medical man who regards it as his duty to protect the health of the community. But I will subordinate this purely professional view as far as I can because it can provide nothing essentially new. It can only demand laws against venereal disease in both sexes and nothing more.

But there are a great number of questions which are strictly in the domain of ethics and sociology but which nevertheless must strike the doctor in the course of his work. And his judgment will differ from that of the sociologist because he is always concerned with the human point of view.

The street-walker does not deserve the unlimited scorn and con-

tempt which she usually receives, especially from that section of the human race which, it seems to me, has the least right to treat her so. I mean women. Let women ask themselves quite frankly what they would have done if, in their youth, they had been seduced and deserted by a lover, thrust from their parents' home, without any means of earning a living, and already cast out and scorned by society? Do they really maintain that that complex of emotions, which they so pompously call their morality, is so powerful that it would have been proof against every temptation which met them in such a plight?

They shake their heads; they are confident in their own strength and regard my question as insulting. But let them analyse themselves; let them turn their eyes from the street-walker on to themselves and say whether they cannot all, *without exception*, find one or another of the characteristics of the prostitute in themselves, even if it were only that passion for adornment and coquetry which they think so harmless. Let them answer again quite frankly whether they too do not enjoy seeing the amorous looks of men directed towards them; whether they too do not really devote their whole life to the same object, namely, that of increasing the sexual desire of the male? What Weininger calls the 'prostitute in woman' is the feminity in woman, and all women possess this to some extent. Let women reflect on this; let them remember that the street-walker too was once a woman like themselves, and that she has, or at any rate once had, a psychology like theirs. Let them think what this poor creature has gone through before she could sink so low and ask themselves whether they ought to pass such harsh judgment on one of their sisters!

'Yes' but morality, society,' they will object.

But is it not we who shape morality, and are we not always changing it as we please? Do we not all excuse conduct in ourselves or in our immediate friends which in others we would stigmatise as disgusting and immoral? It is true that we must live according to the dictates of morality, but only of the morality which comes from within ourselves, not the morality which is imposed upon us by the views of 'society.'

And *this* morality teaches us that many forms of sexual irregularity generally included under the heading of prostitution should be judged quite differently. This morality convinces us that such unions, if built on the basis of pure, genuine love, in the sense in which I have defined it, must be respected and not condemned. This is especially true of 'free love.' Not *free* love in the sense of wild unrestrained sexuality, fickle and irresponsible. But free *love*! It is also true of concubinage which I discussed in Book V.

What ethics and morality should condemn is not the illegitimate sexual relationship *per se* but the degradation of sexual intercourse

into a purely animal satisfaction of carnal appetite, or sexual intercourse with some mercenary motive.

From this point of view, many a marriage of convenience is much more like prostitution than is an extra-marital relation based on genuine love and idealism. What are many 'common-sense marriages' but prostitution sanctioned by Church and State, and yet our good moral world does not dare to attack them.

Dr. Weinberger, whom I respect as an unbiased thinker and an able and conscientious worker in the cause of social welfare, used the word 'prostitutional'[1] to apply to everything which is related in any way to prostitution, and calls for a crusade against luxury, love of pleasure, profligacy, and immorality. I welcome such a crusade in so far as it is directed against all forms of prostitution whether open or secret. But I welcome it too because it will warn and protect women from everything that leads them to even a suspicion of prostitution.

If women keep themselves from everything 'prostitutional' they will prevent even the evil-minded world from suspecting them of prostitution.

It is not laws of Church and State, it is not the precepts of morality which can help this Crusade, but only the power of Woman.

[1] *Vide* page 389.

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